

L ABOUT LOK. TILAK

WITH A FOREWORD BY
MR. JOSEPH BAPTISTA,



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PUBLISHER'S NOTE.

in bringing out this comprehensive collection of the late Lokamanya Tilak's speeches and writings and of all the appreciations about him written after his demise, by political associates as well as adversaries, my aim has been to present to the public, in a convenient form, all about the Lokamanya. I knew Tilak for a long time and intimately, and count myself among his innumerable admirers and followers. It has been my ambition to spread the message of his life in every way I can. I had his monumental contribution to metaphysical thought, *Ata Rahasya*, printed and published in Telugu, which circulated the same throughout the whole of the Khra Desa. Besides, I have been conducting a weekly journal in Telugu, the *Trilinga*, mainly with the purpose of inculcating the doctrines of the Lokamanya's practical political philosophy. It has been my endeavour to pursue the path of sober and practical nationalism preached and practised by him. I shall endeavour to do all I can, by means of publications like the present one, and through the *Trilinga*, to spread his gospel.

I am very much indebted to Mr
Baptista, Bar at Law, for his inva
Foreword My thanks are specially due
my friend, Mr S Airavatham, for the
phical sketch found in the beginning of
book He was on the editorial staff of
Annie Besant's paper *New India*, and
the *Swarajya* subsequently He has had so
experience in journalism, and is an intellig
student of contemporary politics I wish
a useful career as a journalist

6th October, 1922 }
Tondiarpet, Madras } V VENKATESWARUL

A FOREWORD.

The life and teaching of our venerable
 tical *Guru*, the late Lokamanya Tilak,
 n, as it were, a new Political *Geeta*. It is
 ind to be a permanent source of inspiration
 guidance to generations of young workers
 wish to continue the work of liberation of
 Motherland for which he lived and died
 was a stormy life—a life of intense politi-
 agitation. He was a born fighter and his
 pons were the press and the platform. He
 led both of them with equal skill and
 gy. His writings differed very little from
 speeches. It was the language of the
 . He knew no ornament and was never
 guous. They contained practical political
 philosophy clothed in convincing argument
 er two years of novel experiments in poli-
 s, the nation is coming round to understand
 value of the practical statesmanship
 lokamanya. The time is, therefore, c
 oportune for the publication of a colle
 his powerful speeches, like the one w
 Venkateswara Sastrulu is bringing
 ons like the selection and arrangement see
 ilinga, to spre, done with great care. Th

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appendices at the end of the book only increase
 its usefulness. They contain respective
 press opinions controversies personal appreci-
 ations and some notable speeches and writ-
 ings of the Lokamanya. To be great is accord-
 ing to Emerson to be misrepresented and
 misrepresentation gives rise to controversies.
 Lokamanya Tilak himself in his life time
 fought innumerable controversies with his in-
 veterate enemies—the Moderates and the
 Bureaucracy. They raged even after his death
 and form an important chapter of his life
 history. Appendix B is, therefore, extremely
 important from this point of view. Appen-
 dix A and C show how he received unbounded
 homage from his friends and how even his
 enemies could not but admire his remarkable
 genius his deep patriotism his overwhelming
 sincerity and above all his unquestioned and
 unparalleled hold over his countrymen.

JOSEPH BAPTISTA

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LOKAMANYA BAL GANGADHAR TILAK

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

“Whenever virtue subsides and vice prevails, I come down to help mankind”, so spoke the Lord Shri Krishna. Even so, the late Lokamanya Tilak came to us to help us in our struggle for political emancipation. Among the illustrious galaxy of India's leaders, who fought and wrought for her freedom, he occupied a most honoured and conspicuous place. He was, in fact, the father of Indian Nationalism. Though his mortal body has gone, his spirit, the ideals he stood for, and the school of Indian political thought he established, are still as virile and dominant in our civic life as they were when he was alive. His was a complex personality, which, while attracting many to come into his camp also repelled a few and made them his most inveterate and implacable foes. The thrilling incidents of his eventful and uneven career, and the many controversies in connection therewith that arose from time to time, few may now remember, fewer still may now have

the time and the inclination to sift the exaggerated, and often conflicting, records relating to those incidents which profoundly excited contemporary minds. What, on the other hand, the millions, who revere the name of Tilak want is doubtless a brief and judicious sketch by one who has carefully studied available records of the patriot's arduous life. And such a sketch indeed is what is now attempted.

BIRTH AND PARENTAGE.

Bal Gangadhar Tilak was born on 23rd July, 1856 at Ratnagiri. His father Gangadhar Ramachandra Tilak was a great scholar in Sanskrit and Marathi. On account of indigent circumstances Ramachandra had to give up his hopes of pursuing a high academic course and to take to the profession of a teacher on a low salary. His sterling honesty and unswerving conscientiousness raised him in the estimation of his people but the officials over him did not for a long time, recognise his claims. He was made Assistant Deputy Educational Commissioner only after seventeen years of service. A very strong sense of independence was his striking characteristic. His wife was a very pious woman. Naturally enough Tilak inherited from his

father his strong sense of personal integrity and independence and from his mother her piety and compassion

EDUCATIONAL CAREER.

Until he was eleven years of age, Tilak was not put to school, because his father wanted to impart to his son instruction in Sanskrit and the mother-tongue, the Marathi, in the free atmosphere of home-life. The ponderous volumes in his father's library had an irresistible charm to our hero even at so early an age, and he took them up with remarkable avidity. His mother died in 1866 and a little later he was sent to school. After getting through the standards, he was sent to the Poona High School, from where he Matriculated in 1872. While at school he did not conform to the rigid formality of class-work. He would not take "Notes", nor write down in his exercise book all that the teacher said, but would just grasp the meaning of words and treasure it in his memory. He would not mechanically on paper work out Mathematical problems, but solve them mentally and only write down the answer. If asked by the orthodox pedagogue where the "method" was, the precocious youth

used to point to his head. Thus, even while at school, little Tilak asserted his individuality, and was a sort of a 'rebel' against all the meaningless, stereo-typed and sometimes ruinously rigid ways of pedagogic authority. In 1871 he was married to Tapibai, daughter of Ballal Bal of Ladghar in the Ratnagiri District. A few months afterwards, his father passed away. In 1873 he joined the Deccan College. At that time the Colonel Professors and Major Directors of the East India Company were slowly disappearing, being superseded by young graduates from Oxford and Cambridge who were imbued with the spirit of English academies. The training given to the students in the college was one sided and very defective. The minds of the students were cramped with Shelly and Byron, Burke and Gibbon, and no attention was paid to their physique. The result was, indeed, most deplorable. Instead of sending out of its portals young men, strong and well built, both physically and intellectually, the college only produced a host of physical wrecks and intellectual imbeciles. Recognising the grossly defective nature of this training, Tilak devoted a great deal of his time and attention to the training and development of his body.

Swimming, boating and wrestling became his pastimes. At the end of the first year of his college course, he became very robust, well-built, energetic and healthy; but he failed in his F. A. Examination! He took a prominent part in all the innocent pranks of college-life, but was never really mischievous. He was very free with his fellow-students. There was always a refreshing bluntness and striking directness in his speech and action. He often entered into very heated discussions with his comrades, and shone as a wonderful critic. No sophistries could detract him, no squabbles baffle his understanding. He could look into the very core of a problem and estimate the pros and cons thereof. The preliminary training he had in Sanskrit and Marathi in the unsophisticated atmosphere of his home and at an extremely impressionable period of his life stood him in good stead, and saved him from the common ruts of slavish imitation and thoughtless assimilation of western ideals and culture. Hence it was that he did not include himself among the "Social Reformers" that sprang from among his fellow-students. And yet, though both by his training and instinct he had a bias in favour of things Oriental, he did not fail to recognise

the merits in other things. He regarded, and with ample and justification, Principal Wordsworth and Professor Chhatre as *Gurus* in every sense of the term. Messrs Mule, Sharangpani, Kathavte, S. B. Upasani, G. S. Agarkar, Vamanrao Apte, D. A. Khare, G. S. Kapharde, R. N. Mudholkar, O. Gidumal and Mr (now Sir) N. G. Chandavarkar were some of his notable fellow students and contemporaries. Tilak passed the B. A. Examination in the first class in 1876. Then he took to Law and passed the L. L. B. in December 1879. During the three years of his legal studies he acquired thorough mastery of the Hindu Law and also of all the Acts passed by the Government of India since 1827.

L. TRY INTO PUBLIC LIFE

An intellectual giant, inflexible logician and well-equipped student of Law, Tilak could have won high laurels and acquired a good fortune if he had taken to the profession of law, but passion for rendering service to the country was the most dominant feature of his personality. Moreover some contemporary events had left an indelible impression on his mind as to the utter helplessness of his country.

under the crushing domination of an alien people. In 1875, Malharrao, the Gaekwar of Baroda was deposed. It had been alleged that he attempted to poison the Resident, Colonel Phayre. A commission was appointed to investigate the matter. It decided against him, but the people in and outside Baroda firmly believed that he was innocent. The commission did not care for popular opinion and feeling and did not give the prince even the benefit of doubt. The high-handedness with which the fate of the prince was decided and his utter helplessness in the matter gave a rude shock to Tilak. The latter realised with painful horror the utter impotence to which alien domination had reduced his countrymen. Then came the famine of 1877-78 which carried away fifty lakhs of people, and it was in that year that the great Queen Victoria was induced to assume the title of "Kaiser-i-Hind". If the rulers of India had any real sympathy with her people and their trials and tribulations during that year of ghastly famine, they would not have advised the Queen then to assume the title. In 1876 also, an attempt to overthrow British rule was made in some parts of the Maharashtra under the leadership of one Wasudeo Balvant Phadke a servant of

government, but it ended in a fiasco, thus demonstrating the utter futility of trying to end British rule in India by means of force. This incident opened the eyes of Tilak to the fact that British rule could not be supplanted by means of force, that it rested on far reaching foundations of departmental organisation and denationalising education and that it could be fought against only on the same grounds and with the like weapons. These and other events of a similar nature induced Tilak to work for his country's regeneration. The example of Vishnushastri Chiplunkar, the son of Krishnashastri, was also an incentive both to Tilak and his friend Mr G G Agarkar. Mr Chiplunkar was the founder of a new school of thought. Through the columns of the *Nishindheriela* which he started in 1874 he subjected Government and the various social and religious movements of the day to incisive and weighty criticism. The dignity and the rhetorical embellishment of his style his fearlessness and independence won for him great reputation. Inspired and stimulated to action by Mr Chiplunkar's example both Tilak and Agarkar entered public life. It was their ambition to cover the presidency, with a network of societies and to educate the masses

about their rights and their duties. They started the New English School at Poona, and also two journals, the *Mahratta* and the *Kesari*. Later on Mr. M. B. Namjoshi joined them. He was a man of wide learning, experience, and tact. He was really an asset to the school, and dedicated his life to its service. The school had also the good fortune to secure the services of Mr. V. S. Apte, who had to his credit considerable experience as a teacher. As super-intendent of the school, Apte improved it in various ways and raised its tone. Under the guidance of these selfless, and unostentatious workers the school became one of the greatest institutions in the presidency. The two journals, the *Mahratta* and the *Kesari*, conducted by Tilak and Agarkar were also very successful. The tone of their criticisms was such as to rouse the spirit and patriotism of the readers. Their circulation increased by leaps and bounds.

THE KOLHAPUR CASE.

Tilak had always a great solicitude for the welfare and progress of Indian States. The affairs of Kolhapur were very unsatisfactory since 1870, and drew the attention of Tilak. The Rajah died in that year. His

widows adopted Shivajirao Since 1877 this young prince began to show signs of doubtful sanity It was widely rumoured that the *kurbhari* of the state, Rao Bahadur Barve, was working for the removal of the prince from the gadi either by poisoning him or by deposing him on the ground of insanity, with a view to install another in his place A public meeting was held at Poona and a resolution passed to the effect that the prince, Shivajirao, should be placed under a new guardian Subsequent to this meeting it was rumoured that an attempt to murder the prince had been made but proved abortive Sometime afterwards Tilak and Agarkar got three letters, which appeared to be from the *kurbhari* of the state In these, the plan to poison the prince was suggested Taking them to be genuine, they published the letters in the *Mahratta* and the *Kesari* and challenged the state *kurbhari* to prove his innocence before the Court of Law Rao Bahadur Barve accepted the challenge and sued Tilak, Agarkar and some others at Kolhapur He contended that there had been a conspiracy among his enemies led by one Nana Bhide, to bring him into disrepute, that his enemies had been making deliberate attempts towards that end, and that

the letters published in the *Mahratta* and the *Kesari* were mere fabrications. Tilak and Agarkar were defended by Mr. (afterwards Sir) P. M. Mehta and K. T. Telang. Nana Bhide tried his best to prove that the letters were genuine; but the decision of the Court was to the contrary. Tilak and Agarkar tendered an apology. Not being satisfied with this, the state *karbhari* pressed for conviction. Tilak and Mr. Agarkar were sentenced each to four months simple imprisonment. People however in general felt in their favour, that they were being unjustly punished. Principal Wordsworth led a movement and petitioned the government to release these illustrious men, but the prayer was not heeded. On the day of their release the two heroes were received with great rejoicing by the huge crowds that had thronged near the prison-gate. While they were still in prison a fund was started to help them. It is said that Gopalakrishna Gokhale, who was then a student, acted the part of a female in a drama the proceeds of which were to go to that fund¹

EDUCATIONAL WORK.

The motives that impelled Tilak and his co-woker, Agarkar, to the service of the country

have already been dealt with. They devoted their attention to educational work and to journalism, as the media through which to instil into their countrymen the spirit of democracy and nationalism. They saw clearly that England's domination over India rested mainly on the intellectual hallucination produced by English education on Indian youths and that its domination could be weakened only by breaking through that hallucination, in other words by imparting education to the people on what are called national lines. The New English School they started and conducted was, in several respects, truly national. Instruction through the medium of English was discouraged as much as possible. Many of the defects in the present system of education that we are fighting against even now, were there eliminated. Thus the New English School became an ideal institution much loved and encouraged by the people, and damned with faint praise by the educational authorities of the Government. The success of the school was encouraging to Tilak and he wanted to raise it into a college. With this purpose in view a meeting of all who were really interested in this matter was held and the famous Deccan Education Society was started.

in October, 1884. With the permission of the University, an Arts College was later on opened in 1895. Tilak was Professor of Mathematics and Sanskrit, in which subjects he was a specialist. As a teacher he never indulged in fun and frolic, and digressions from the subjects on hand; he was too serious to become a popular teacher; but there was a solemnity and dignity about him that inspired in those, who had the singular good fortune to sit at his feet, a reverential awe for his genius. Unfortunately, however, not long after the founding of the Deccan Educational Society differences arose between Tilak and his co-workers and culminated in the severance of his connection with the society. Tilak's aim was, as has already been pointed out, to cover Maharashtra with a net-work of well-conducted schools. He insisted that those who were willing to work for the realisation of this object should be imbued with a spirit of self-denial and self-sacrifice, and should take only so much as was absolutely necessary for subsistence. The members of the society agreed to these propositions in the beginning, and all was well for a while, but when the first trials and troubles incidental to the organisation of a huge system of education were, in a way,

got over, some of the life members began to clamour for enhanced rates of salary. According to the constitution of the society the pay of all members was equal, gratuities being granted in special cases. It was also laid down that a member should not engage himself in any work other than that connected with the society. As time passed on some members began to infringe this latter rule and take to other money yielding pursuits. In 1885, the rigidity of these rules was relaxed and it was decided that a member should devote four hours in the day to teaching work, and he might do anything he liked during the rest of the day. This change in the rules naturally and inevitably led to the infringement by the members of the cardinal principle of the society, namely, that a member should not engage himself in work other than that connected with the society. Tilak grew impatient with this pernicious tendency, and insisted that either private work should be totally done away with, or else a rule framed to the effect that the profits accruing from private work done by the members should go, as in the case of foreign Missionary Societies to the common fund of the Society, to be utilised for the common benefit of all. Actuated

thus by a desire to keep up the original aims and ideals of the society in their pristine purity he waged war against all whom he found lax, thus he took serious objection to Mr. Gokhale working for about three hours every day as Secretary to the Sarvajanic Sabha, and he opposed Agarkar's proposal, at one of the meetings, for a general increase in the scales of salary, suggesting that Agarkar's own case might be considered a special one and that he might be granted a gratuity, if need be. By and by these controversies became most acrimonious. When a serious rupture was imminent, Tilak tried to avert it, and offered to stand aloof for a while. A compromise was, however, made and Tilak rejoined; but the controversies had created an atmosphere of keen personal animosities, nor was the compromise being strictly kept up. And so, Tilak finally took leave of the Society in December, 1890 leaving behind however, the great memory of his services as its founder and truest friend

TILAK, AN ANTI SOCIAL REFORMER?

English education created, in course of time, a large class of Anglicised Indians Having imbibed western culture and in the

belief that all the shiboleths of the social and political philosophers of the west were universal truths, they began to ape western manners and customs, and to apply western standards of judgment to Indian life. They proclaimed that Indian Society was submerged in a hell of evils, that it was rotten to its very core, and that a radical reconstruction of the social fabric should be immediately brought about in the interests of civilisation and progress. The hydra-headed monster of caste they declared should be destroyed, early marriages abolished and penalised, post puberty marriages not only sanctioned but actively encouraged and woman placed on a par with man in all matters, especially in the matter of education. The borrowed gospel of these self-mystified apostles did not appeal to Tilak. A born Nationalist he would not for one moment tolerate the idea of indiscriminately incorporating into the complex life of Indian Society the untried ideals and one-sided culture of the west. He had therefore to wage a relentless war, with his clever tongue and incisive pen against a powerful array of Social Reformers led by intellectual giants like Ranade. Formidable as these were, Tilak was not the man

to quail before them, he would not rest when a hybrid nationalism was being introduced into the life of the people in the name of Social democracy and other high-sounding platitudes that one comes across in western literature. Tilak was, however, ready to admit that there were a great many evils in Hindu society, but he held that reform must come from within. The initiative for reform must come from society itself and the methods must be adapted to the culture and past traditions of the people. The race-consciousness and race-spirit of a people should determine the character, intensity and velocity of their social changes. Society is a huge biological organism and cannot take in anything from outside, which is not adaptable to its way of life and which is alien to its intrinsic nature. Indian society cannot, therefore, be reformed on western lines. Further, reform can only be gradual, the result of evolution. Thus, Tilak's opposition to what was called 'social reform' was based on true scientific grounds. In fact, he was the true 'Social Reformer'; the others only social de-formers. His opposition to Mr Malabari's Age of Consent Bill, for instance, is thus easily understood. His contention was that a foreign bureaucracy had no business

to legislate for the removal of a social evil closely connected with religion that the evil sought to be remedied by the Bill was not so serious as to necessitate legislative interference, and that the evil would gradually disappear with the spread of education among the people. He put up a vigorous fight against the Bill, and with the support of the orthodox party, he caused such an agitation that the public opinion practically nullified the Bill. He suggested a few modifications and amendments to the Bill, which if accepted and incorporated into the Bill would make it acceptable to the orthodox party but government and those who stood by them were too much inebriated with the intoxicant of prestige that they heeded not his sage counsel. Though in the matter of opposition to the Bill there was a sort of superficial agreement between him and Ranade in reality, the two were in spirit poles asunder. The former attached supreme importance to the necessity for the religious sanction of the Bill the latter was not keen on it the former had his inspiration from Indian traditions the latter from western shibboleths. During these times of heated controversy there were now and then, ugly manifestations of violence and fanaticism.

There were disgraceful scenes and disturbances at a meeting convened by the Reformers, and the latter suspected Tilak to have been at the bottom of it. Day by day the gulf between Tilak and the Reformers became widened. Besides the controversy relating to the Age of Consent Bill, other events happened which further widened the breach and made it irreparable. Mrs Rambhai, an Indian Christian, wanted to establish a residential school for Indian girls. She had been collecting funds for the purpose, and had much support from America. She also sought the support of the Indian leaders. On her promising to make the instruction in the school secular and to be quite neutral in religious matters, Tilak gave his support to the movement. Some Reformers also did so. But soon afterwards when she realised that she could depend sufficiently upon American help she began to break her contract and teach Christianity. Instead of washing their hands completely of Mrs Rambhai, the Reformers appealed to the Head office in America, but in vain. Tilak withdrew his support. It was at this time, it would appear, that Tilak was subjected to taunts and gibes in the press owned by the Reformers. After some time, the

orthodox party accused about forty-two persons, including Tilak, Ranade and Gokhale, of having taken tea in the house of a Missionary with the deliberate purpose of breaking caste. The case came up for hearing before Shree Sankaracharya. It was decided that *Prayaschitta* should be performed. Tilak abided by the decision. He also pleaded for a spirit of compromise in matters social in the course of a powerful article in the *Kesari*. He not only preached the principle of compromise in matters social but actually practised it. He took a prominent part in several of the social conferences and supported some of the resolutions moved by the Reformers. But he differed from the Reformers most emphatically on one point, that in the matter of dealing with evils in society, the help of the present alien Government should not at all be invoked, e.g., that it was absurd to call upon Government to penalise the disfigurement of widows. Such appeals should be addressed to the people and not to the Government. He believed in, and preached, self reliance in social matters as well as politics.

ENTRY INTO POLITICS

After resigning his membership of the Deccan Education Society Tilak had plenty of time to devote to other fields of activity. Having an instinctive dislike for violent and radical social changes, he could not be a Social Reformer of the ordinary type. Politics, on the other hand, was best suited to his temperament, and it is as a political fighter that Tilak won his laurels. He joined the Indian National Congress in 1889, about four years after its inception. Like the social reform movement, the Congress also was started and conducted by Anglicised Indians, European in their ways and mentality. These believed in the altruistic mission of England in India. The Congress speeches—for instance those of Mr. (now the Hon Sir) Surendranth Banerjee—were full of encomiums to England's love of liberty and freedom, and betrayed a deplorable lack of self-respecting nationalism and independence in thought and judgment. Tilak's ways were different, he could not tolerate what may be termed in modern phraseology "slave-mentality" that permeated the Congress atmosphere of those days, nor the haphazard ways in which the Congress dealt

with the political questions of the day. Further he saw that the Congress did not touch the masses, did not educate and organise them. Soon after he joined the Congress therefore, he infused fresh life and blood into its activities, educated the masses on their political duties and rights, and appealed to them to follow the lead of the Congress. His sharp differences with the Reformers did not in any way prevent him from co-operating with them in politics but they unfortunately, would not give him their confidence. Thus they would not allow him to move important resolutions; indeed, all sorts of impediments were placed in his way. He did not care to make himself unduly prominent, he aspired not for fame. He had a passion for real work and he toiled in a selfless and unostentatious spirit. In 1895 a controversy arose as to whether the Social Conference should be held in the Congress mandap or not, the Reformers insisting that it should be held there, and the orthodox party opposing the proposal. The former went to the absurd length of saying that the holding of the Conference in the Congress mandap was a *condition sine qua non* for their giving financial support to the Congress; the latter were equally fanatical and uncompromising. The result was a

serious split in the Congress camp. Tilak's position was clear enough. He said that the dispute should be decided either by the Congress itself or by the Reception Committee. A number of side issues were raised. Tilak was charged with indifference. Attempts were made to remove the Congress office from his residence, when he was away from Poona. Sub-committees to manage Congress work were constituted of Reformers mainly. The original rule that every gentleman who paid Rs. 50 was entitled to vote on resolutions was changed to the effect that those who paid more than Rs. 50 were entitled to vote not only on their own behalf but also separately on behalf of their wives and children. Exasperated by these tactics, Tilak sent a circular to all leading Congressmen and held a public meeting. A resolution was passed to the effect that in view of the fact that the Reformers predominated in the Reception Committee a new Committee should be formed. The Standing Committee decided that each party should contribute two Secretaries, and Bombay three. After considerable hesitation, Tilak accepted this arrangement but the position of his opponents continued to be practically almost invulnerable. Tilak got disgusted with his opponents and their ways, and resigned his Secretaryship.

of the Congress. The differences, however, did not end there. The Reformers and Tilak's party continued to exchange words both in the press and on the platform. The situation was, however, tackled in a statesmanlike way by the President-elect of the Congress, Mr (now the Hon Sir) Surendranath Banerjee. He even hinted that he would not preside if the question of holding the Social Conference in the Congress mandap was not set aside. This bold action of the President terminated the unpleasant controversies. Contrary to all expectations, the Congress was a splendid success. The "Trumpet voice of India" was listened to with great attention and was accorded a right royal welcome by all parties.

IN THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

In the same year (1893) Tilak was elected to the Bombay Legislative Council by the Local Bodies. The Councils of those days were no better than debating clubs and the representatives of the people had no power. They could satisfy themselves by making good speeches but in no way could they influence the administration. Tilak could not therefore be in any way useful to the country through the Council as it was then consti-

tuted During the short period he was in the Council he displayed all the requisite qualities of a legislator; but there was no scope for work in those days. Tilak had, therefore, to play the secondary part of a critic of the administration. He subjected the bureaucratic machinery and all its multitudinous ramifications to searching scrutiny and relentless criticism. The pet theories of the bureaucracy were demolished by his merciless logic. He went into the root principles of the questions that came up for consideration before the Council and made the Government members shiver before the avalanche of his trenchant attacks. The bureaucracy found in him an implacable opponent and persecuted him relentlessly. In 1897, he resigned his membership just after the criminal prosecution had been launched against him

FAMINE AND PLAGUE

The famine of 1897-96 made Tilak restless. The indifference of the Government and the helplessness of his countrymen shocked him. He started a large programme of work; and sent his lieutenants to the various parts of Maharashtra to collect information about the condition of the people to devise measures

of relief and to educate the people on the provisions of the Famine Relief Code. Tilak carried on the agitation in a systematic way, infused manliness and courage into the people. He told the people that they need not sell their lands and pay the revenue at a time when the Queen and the Secretary of State were prepared to borrow if necessary. The Government looked upon Tilak's organised agitation with consternation and ill will and so failed to make use of his co-operation and constructive suggestions. Some of the propagandists were harassed. Professor Sather was tried for alleged abetting of forest offences. Three gentlemen of Thanā were prosecuted for having circulated a pamphlet explaining to the people the provisions of the Famine Relief Code. One Mr. Apte was tried and sentenced to a year's simple imprisonment. The Sarvajanik Sabha of Poona was deprived of its right to petition Government. These ill advised prosecutions carried out by a stupid officialdom did not in any way unnerve Tilak. He carried on the agitation against all repression caring very little for the unreasonable and petulant wrath of the official demi-gods. His efforts were attended with remarkable success. The people turned to him for guidance and followed

him implicitly. This awakening in the people opened the eyes of Tilak to the immense potentialities in his countrymen which could be roused and utilised for constructive political work needed for the realisation of political freedom. Then in the wake of famine burst out plague Tilak, far from running away to some safe place, was with the suffering people throughout the period of their tribulations. He went from place to place explaining the difficulties of the people to the authorities and the intentions of the latter to the former, he himself started a Plague Hospital

THE GHASTLY MURDERS

The Government appointed a Plague Committee with Mr. Rand at its head. The Plague Committee was no doubt actuated by the best of motives, but in taking measures for stopping the spread of the infection it did not exercise any caution nor pay regard to the social and religious susceptibilities of the people. Soldiers were put in charge of the housesearch duty entailed by segregation work. British soldiers might be useful as fighters, but to do work of this kind they were eminently unfit. The authorities were so intellectually oblique as to be unable to see this simple fact

The soldiers caused great offence and annoyance to the people. Tilak pointed this out to the authorities, but his advice fell on deaf ears. The plague soon subsided but not the seething discontent and indignation generated by the indiscriminate measures adopted by the Plague Committee. A fanatic, by name Dimodhar Chapekar murdered Mr Rand on the night of June 22 1897, when the latter was returning from a Government House function. Lieutenant Ayrst also was murdered. These ghastly and brutal deeds spread a feeling of horror. Tilak was suspected, and his unscrupulous foes cleverly exploited these murders to the full measure with a view to undermine his influence and discredit his work. It was unfortunate that the atrocities should have been committed on the Jubilee day. This accidental coincidence of events was made much of by the Anglo Indian Press which was ever unscrupulous where Tilak was concerned. A cry was raised for the use of the sections of the Indian Penal Code relating to sedition. Passages were extracted from the Poona Press and a relation was concocted between the ideas contained in them and the murders. The most innocent of Tilak's remarks torn away from their context roused the great

est suspicion in Anglo-Indian hearts The Anglo-Indian Press cleverly argued thus: On the 11th May 1897, Mr. Tilak declared the "futility of mere clamour" against official high-handedness. On the 12th June he justified the murder of Afzul Khan by Shivaj and declared that the *Mlechas* (foreigners) had not been given a copper plate to rule over India In this way surely Tilak prepared the ground for the murders of Rand and Lieutenant Ayrst!" As a result of such clamour feelings between Anglo-Indians and Indians became very estranged. In the beginning Lord Sandhurst, the Governor, and his Government kept their heads cool, but finally they had to yield to the Anglo-Indian clamour and pander to its tastes by launching forth a campaign of repression Tilak went to Bombay to sue the *Times of India* for its reckless statements. There on the 27th July 1897 he was arrested The printer of the *Kesari* was also arrested, besides several other editors. Some of them saved themselves by tendering abject apologies On the 4th August Tilak was released on bail. The trial began on the 8th August before Mr. Justice Strachey and a Special Jury of nine members, six of them being Europeans ignorant of Marathi. The judgment of course went against Tilak He was

sentenced to eighteen months rigorous imprisonment. An appeal to the Privy Council was made but was of no avail whatsoever. The prosecution of Tilak for sedition was the subject of comment in the British press. The Hon. Mr. Justice Strachey's definition of "disaffection" as "want of affection" to Government was adversely criticised. The Congress session of that year expressed its full sympathy towards Tilak. The Hon. Mr. Surendranath Banerjee declared in the midst of deafening cheers: "I declare on my behalf and on behalf of the entire Indian Press that in our heart of hearts we believe Mr. Tilak to be innocent of the charge brought against him. The ends of technical justice may have been satisfied but substantial justice has grievously failed. My sympathy goes forth towards Mr. Tilak in his prison home for whom the Nation is in tears. In England Professor Max Muller sent an influential petition to the Queen praying for the release of Tilak on the ground of his literary genius. As a result of this, he was released six months earlier. While in jail he was asked to print walls and easy chairs. He was however, allowed to use candles for two hours in the night. He spent these hours on his favourite pursuit, researches into the antiquities of India."

ties of the Vedas. Even the rigours and monotony of gaol-life did not break Tilak's indomitable spirit, but when he came out he was a physical wreck. The *Times of India* was sued, as also the *Globe*, an English paper; both these papers apologised for their bad conduct; and so, Tilak withdrew the cases against them.

SHIVAJI AND GANAPATHY FESTIVALS.

Nothing did so much to foster a sense of nationality and love for the Motherland among the people of Maharashtra as the Ganapathy and Shivaji festivals inaugurated by Tilak in 1893 and 1895 respectively. Possibly to a certain extent, he inaugurated these festivals with a view to counter-act the baneful influence of the Social Reformers. As has already been pointed out, he derived his inspiration from Hinduism and wanted that the national movement, whether in the field of Social Reform or of politics, should have its root in the abiding ideals of Hinduism. It was with this object he inaugurated the Ganapathy festival. It is to this day celebrated with great pomp all over Maharashtra. The festival brings the classes and the masses together; and fosters a spirit of unity among all sections of the people. Though the Moderates stood aloof yet in the course of

a few years, the festival became a national institution. The Shivaji festival also had a similar object and a similar unifying influence. Among the people of Maharashtra of all classes and creeds the name of Shivaji rouses the sublimest sense of patriotism and nationalism, and represents the ideal of political emancipation. The Shivaji festival, therefore, drew together all classes of people, high and low, rich and poor. The growing unity and fraternity among the people of Maharashtra as a result of these festivals caused great mental perturbation to the Bureaucracy, which began to exercise vigilance over the movement. Those who feared the Bureaucrat were afraid to co-operate with Tilak and his followers whom they called Extremists, they themselves being Moderates. At about this time too occurred deplorable outbreaks of Hindu Muslim riots which were attributed by Anglo India to the starting of the cow protection societies, with which Tilak was connected, but, he attributed them to the policy of 'divide and rule' followed by the Government. With the exception of Sir P. M. Mehta even the Moderates believed in what Anglo India said. The result was that the gulf between the Moderates and Tilak widened culminating

in the controversy of 1895 regarding the holding of the social reform conference in the Congress mandap to which reference has been already made. To the utter discomfiture of the Moderate party, Tilak won a majority in the Sarvajanic Sabha. A compromise was suggested and Mr. Gokhale tried to bring this about, but in vain. Being unable to co-operate with Tilak, his opponents decided to start a new body called the Deccan Sabha. It was started in November 1895. This was the beginning of the split in the ranks of Indian politicians, the birth of the Moderate party. The perpetuation of this split helped Government to play one party against another. Tilak tried his best to close up the ranks; but his efforts were of no avail. Public life became demoralised. Disunion and disintegration set in. Disgusted with the timidity, vacillation and selfishness of some leaders, Tilak began a terrible fight and carried it on year after year at the Congress sessions. At the Luknow Congress in 1899, he wanted to move a resolution condemning the administration of Lord Sandhurst. His opponents raised a storm against it. The President of the Congress threatened 'to resign' if Tilak persisted in his course. In the interests of the Congress itself,

Tilak had to withdraw. He wanted to move a similar resolution at the provincial conference held at Satara, the President Mr G K Parckh, threatened to resign. It was, however, finally decided that the resolution should find a place in the report of the proceedings of the conference. The Congress and the conferences of those days were reactionary in spirit. To win recognition from Government became the aim of Congress leaders. The leaders of those days lacked fire and enthusiasm. Even the lion of Bombay, Sir P M Mchta, had become tame. This state of affairs continued to prevail until the overbearing and imperious ways of Lord Curzon, the real architect of Indian nationalism unified all parties and led to a vigorous agitation all over the country.

THE TAI MAHARAJ CASE.

For about five years, from 1900 to 1905, Tilak was unable to take any active part in political affairs. He was during that period, engaged in the Tai Maharaj case. It was the period of Tilak's greatest tribulations in life. The odds against him were formidable. He was charged with forgery and perjury. Every possible attempt was made to blacken him in the eyes of the people. On 7th August, 1897, Tilak

met his friend Baba Maharaj who was on his death-bed. The dying man executed a will and pressed Tilak to be a trustee together with Rao Saheb Kirtikar, the Hon. Mr. G. S. Kapharde, and Messrs Kumbhojkar and Nagpurkar. The will contained the following important passage:—"My wife is now pregnant. If she does not give birth to a son, or if the son after birth is short-lived, then for the purpose of continuing the name of my family, with the *vichara* of the trustees a boy should be placed, as often as may be necessary, in adoption, on the lap of my wife, in accordance with the *Shastras*, and the *Panch* should, on behalf of that son, carry on the management of the immovable and movable estates till he attains majority." The widow gave birth to a son, but he died after two months. During Tilak's incarceration, Mr. Kapharde was in charge of the estate. After coming out of gaol Tilak took up the management. The estate was immersed in debt. The only way by which the liabilities could be cleared off was by strict retrenchment in expenditure. This very much displeased the widow who was surrounded by bad advisers. Tilak and the other trustees tried their best to find a boy for the widow's adoption. A suitable boy

could not be found. Secretly an attempt was made to induce the widow to adopt Bala Maharaj, brother of Pandit Maharaj of Kolhapur. The trustees held a meeting on 18th June, 1901 to decide the matter. No boy of the Kolhapur and Poona branches of the family was approved. It was decided to see if one was available at Babre, a village in Aurangabad district. The widow, Tilak and Mr. Kapharde went to the village and selected one Jagannath for adoption. The widow too liked the choice and even wrote a letter to the boy's father expressing her willingness to adopt the boy. And before an assembly of Shastris and according to religious rites the boy was adopted. Everything went on well for some time. The enemies of Tilak however, wanted to ruin him and induced the widow to approach Mr. Aston, District Judge and Agent to the Deccan Sardars and complain against Tilak's tyranny. A tool in the hands of her evil councillors, she did as desired, and, on 29th July, 1901 applied for revocation of the probate granted to Tilak and other trustees. Mr. Aston tried the case, revoked the probate, disapproved of the adoption, framed seven charges against Tilak and committed him under Sec. 476 Cr. P. C.

to the City Magistrate. The charges included false complaint for breach of trust against Mr Nagpurkar, one of the trustees, false fabrication of evidence, forgery, etc. Tilak applied for transfer of the case to the High Court on the ground that Mr. Aston was prejudiced against him and had given several interviews to Tai Maharaj. The application was rejected ; but, when an appeal was made to the High Court the decision of Mr Aston relating to the probate was reversed. Then the seven charges framed against Tilak were gone into by a Special Magistrate appointed for the purpose. The first charge was quashed after eight months of prolonged trial. Then the charge of perjury was taken up and on 24th August 1903 Tilak was convicted and sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs 1000. Without allowing him sufficient time to give instructions to his pleaders to lodge an appeal, and with indecent haste, Tilak was removed to gaol. The Sessions Judge, Mr. Lucas, reduced the sentence but confirmed the conviction. On 4th January, 1904, he was taken to the Yerwada gaol. He was, however, released on the 8th by an order of the High Court. When he was taken to gaol he was hand-cuffed like a

common felon, a most scandalous and disgraceful proceeding. The revisional appeal was taken up by the High Court on 24th February, 1904. Tilak's conviction was quashed and the fine ordered to be refunded. The criminal case having ended, the civil case relating to adoption came up for hearing before the First Class Subordinate Judge in June 1904. The decision was in Tilak's favour. An appeal was made to the High Court. After two years, the High Court decided against Tilak and the latter thereupon appealed to the Privy Council and won the case. The decision of the High Court was quashed, and that of the Subordinate Judge held up. The Government unnecessarily delayed the execution of the decree of the Privy Council, and the estate was not granted to Jagannath until February, 1917. With an inimical Government, a number of unscrupulous opponents always intriguing and conspiring against him, the dope of a widow playing into the hands of evil advisers, Tilak had to fight for several years against these odds to vindicate his character and only his indomitable courage and spotless honesty could have borne these persecutions with patience, fortitude and robust optimism. After his well

deserved triumph; he was justly looked upon by the people as a true hero and he became a firm believer in the workings of Divine Providence in human life and activities.

THE CURZONIAN DISPENSATION.

Lord Curzon was one of the most remarkable of Indian Viceroys. A great orator, a robust debater, energetic, strong-willed and obstinate, he was an Imperialist of Imperialists. He started his regime with grand shibboleths before him. Here and there he did something or other to please some sections of the Indian people, but later on he changed his attitude and became a hot-headed autocrat, not all, however, under the pressure of the Bureaucratic demi-gods; for, he was too self-willed to be susceptible to extraneous influences. He launched out a series of administrative measures affecting every branch of the machinery of Government, strengthening the hands of the Executive, especially in the Central Government, in utter disregard of public opinion. The official report of the Indian National Congress for 1905 gives the following description of his administration:—
 “Never since the dark days of Lord Lytton’s Viceroyalty had India been so distracted,

discontented, despondent, the victim of so many misfortunes, political and other; the target for so much scorn and calumny emanating from the highest quarters—its most moderate demands ridiculed and scouted, its most reasonable prayers greeted with stiff negative, its noblest aspirations spurned and denounced as pure mischief or solemn nonsense its most cherished ideals hurled down from their pedestal and trodden under foot—never had the condition of India been more critical than it was during the second ill-starred administration of Lord Curzon. The Official Secrets Act was passed in the teeth of universal opposition. It was condemned by the whole press—Indian and Anglo Indian. Protests from all quarters poured in but Lord Curzon was implacable and the gagging act was passed. Education was crippled and mutilated, it was made expensive and it was officialised, and so that most effective instrument for the enslavement of our national interest the Indian Universities Act was passed and the policy of checking if not altogether undoing the noble work of Bentinck, Macaulay and Lord Halifax which for more than half a century has been continued with such happy results to the country came in

full swing". His Lordship's administration was so iniquitous that even Mr. Gokhale was obliged to say: "For a parallel to such an administration, we must, I think, go back to the times of Aurangzeb in the history of our own country." But after all, Lord Curzon's regime was a blessing in disguise; he was the architect of Indian nationalism, he built better than he knew. His ill-advised Partition of Bengal gave rise to a stormy agitation in and around Bengal. Simultaneously the boycott and swadeshi movements also were conducted, and gained immense support and strength in the country. The whole of India from Cape Comorin to the peaks of Gourisankar reverberated with feelings of indignation against Government and of sympathy towards Bengal. The net outcome of the Curzonian dispensation was an all-India agitation, quickening a sense of national oneness and solidarity.

METHODS OF AGITATION AND THE INAUGURATION OF THE NEW PARTY.

With the manifestation of a new spirit and life in the country, there also occurred a split in the ranks of Indian politicians. It was due to different conceptions regarding

methods of political agitation. The Moderates wanted to pursue what they called 'constitutional methods of agitation,' by which they meant that the agitation should be within the four corners of the law of British India. Tilak did not believe in all this for the following reasons. In the first place India had no constitution of her own, the Indian Government was created by the statutes of the Parliament of Great Britain. In the second place, India had no law making powers. The Bureaucracy had the sole authority to make and unmake laws. The Bureaucracy, if it made up its mind, could put an end to all forms of agitation, and deprive the people of even their elementary rights of free association and free speech, it could easily penalise all political activities. In fighting such an autocracy, it was not always possible to follow methods that would be described as legal for, the description was liable to be changed according to the whims of the Bureaucracy. Not law then, but justice, morality and equity should be the guiding principles of agitation. Constitutional and law abiding methods against an alien Bureaucracy which possessed the sole authority of making and unmaking laws could lead only to political suicide. In his

that the Moderates were inseparably wedded to constitutional agitation, Tilak started what he called the New Party. The Anglo-Indian and the Moderate press dubbed the members of the New party as Extremists. The differences between the Moderates and the Extremists were only with regard to methods, not with regard to the ideal. In the course of an interview with Mr. H. W. Nevins, Tilak described his political creed and methods thus.—“It is not by our purpose, but by our methods only that our party has earned the name of Extremists. Certainly, there is a very small party which talks about abolishing the British rule at once and completely. That does not concern us; it is much too far in the future. Unorganised, disarmed, and still disunited, we should not have a chance of shaking the British suzerainty. We may leave all that sort of thing to a distant time. Our object is to obtain eventually a large share in the administration of our own country. Our remote ideal is a confederacy of the Indian provinces, possessing Colonial Self-Government with all imperial questions set apart for the Central Government in England.” The Moderates have always had faith in the British people and their Government in India and very little

faith in themselves and their people in general. They have believed that England's heart is good, sympathetic and generous, and that she means to, and will, grant India Self-Government. The party founded by Tilak did not believe in all this. Tilak once said "We do not believe in philanthropy in politics. There is no instance in history where a foreign nation has ruled another without any expectations of profit. We believe in Lord Morley and in the genuineness of his professions as a philosopher. The old school (the Moderate school) thinks that politics could be governed by the dictates of philosophy, we hold that these are quite different things and ought not to be mixed up together. The old school thinks that concessions could be secured by logical persuasion."

In fact, Tilak did not like the methods adopted by the Congress even before Lord Curzon came to India. He did all that he could to infuse life and courage into the Congress despite the opposition of the Moderates. The prolonged labours in connection with the T. T. Maharaj case took away a large portion of his time and he was unable during that period to devote any attention to poli-

tics. But thanks to an inscrutable providence, the high-handed ways of Lord Curzon and the series of blunders he committed brought about an awakening in the minds of the people and paved the way for the formation of a new party following methods more vigorous and courageous than those that had been followed by the Moderates. This coincided with the last phase of the Tai Maharaj case ; and Tilak re-entered the Congress and, taking advantage of the new spirit in the country, wanted to break the old superstitions of the Congress. He wanted that Congressmen should devote their time to rouse the spirit of nationalism among the people, and abandon the mendicant policy of currying favour with the Bureaucracy ; but his opponents, as usual, would not allow him to do this. He attended the Benares sessions of the Congress presided over by Mr. Gokhale. The presidential address was one of the most inspiring addresses of the day. No one criticised Lord Curzon's administration as trenchantly as the President. Further, Mr. Gokhale justified the starting of the Boycott movement in Bengal. Emboldened by these and helped by the absence that year of Sir P. M. Mehta, Tilak wanted the Congress to pass separate resolu-

tions on Swadeshi and Boycott and to advise all parts of India to inaugurate the Boycott movement as a token of sympathy with Bengal. This the Moderates stoutly refused to endorse. Hoping to bring up the resolution at the next Congress, Tilak yielded, and averted a split. Tilak had by now become an all India leader, the leader of the New or the Extremist party, and was so popular that Babu Bipin Chandra Pal proposed that he should preside over the Calcutta Congress, and carried on a vigorous agitation to bring about that consummation. Moreover a controversy arose as to whether the policy of the Congress should be changed. Mr G S Kapharde sent a circular letter to all prominent Congressmen advocating a change in the policy. All this terrified the Moderates. They thought that the Congress was in danger of being captured by the Extremists and so made a supreme effort to stem the tide of Extremism. Sir P M Mehta and Mr Surendranath Banerjee sent a cable to Dadhabhai Naoroji, the Grand Old Man of India, who was then in England, stating that the Congress was in danger and that he should forthwith start for India to preside over the Calcutta Congress. Dadhabhai was loved by

all parties and no one would contend against him for the Presidentship of the Congress, least of all Tilak. Dadhabai consented to preside, and the Moderates won a victory as far as the Presidentship of the Congress was concerned. However, the main question as to whether the policy of the Congress should be changed was to be discussed and solved at the Congress session itself. Regarding this question, Tilak expressed the following view:—"We are sometimes told not to be disheartened. If the Moderates think that we are easily disappointed and lack grim determination, they are entirely mistaken. We have lost faith, not in the ultimate result, but in the dilatory activities of the Congress. To us, the holding of the Congress for three days in the year, the tepid work of the British Congress Committee and the occasional sending of a deputation to England—seems quite an insufficient work. Not that we have no faith in 'constitutional agitation'. We do not want to overthrow the English Government. Political rights will have to be fought for. The Moderates think that these can be won by persuasion. We think they can only be got by strong pressure. Will the Congress exert itself to apply this pressure? That is the point; and if such a

pressure is to be applied, the Congress must leave this holiday character and develop into an organisation working continuously and energetically " The Calcutta sessions of the Congress were anxiously awaited. The Anglo Indian Press tried its best to discredit Tilak's party, but in vain. It hoped that the President would be a "Moderating" influence, but it was sorely disappointed. Dadhabai Naroji declared the goal of India's political efforts in the following terms — "The whole matter can be comprised in one word, Self government or Swaraj like that of the United Kingdom or the Colonies." Further, the Congress passed three distinct resolutions on Swadeshi, Boycott and National Education. The resolution relating to Boycott gave rise to a very hot debate. The resolution on Boycott passed at the Benares Congress was mere "economic Boycott." According to the Calcutta resolution, Boycott became a political weapon as well. It declared — "That having regard to the fact that the people of this country have little or no voice in its administration, and that their representations to the Government do not receive due consideration, this Congress is of opinion that the Boycott movement inaugurated in Bengal by way of protest against the

partition of that province was, and is, legitimate." In the open Congress, Babu Bipin Chandra Pal attached a political meaning to this resolution, the Moderate leaders like Pandit Madana Mohun Malaviya and Dewan Bahadur L A Govindaragava Aiyar dissenting from that view. There was a prolonged discussion leading to much excitement and bustle in the pandal. Mr Gokhale pointed out that the Congress was bound only by the wording of the resolution as it stood and not by interpretations put upon it by individuals, and thus brought the discussion to a close. In the Subjects Committee the resolution relating to Swadeshi was also one of hot dispute. According to the draft resolution placed before the Committee it was not stated clearly that the people should buy Swadeshi goods even at a sacrifice. Tilak wanted to amend the resolution to this effect. His amendment was thrown out. He demanded a poll. It was refused. As a protest, he walked out with sixty others. Intending to move the amendment in the open Congress, Tilak sent notice of the same to the President. Realising the strength of Tilak's party, the President incorporated the amendment into the main resolution. The resolution as amended ran as follows:—

That this Congress accords its most cordial support to the Swadeshi movement, and calls upon the people of the country to labour for its success, by making earnest and sustained efforts to promote the growth of indigenous industries and to stimulate the production of indigenous articles by giving them preference over imported commodities even at a sacrifice' Thus the triumph of Tilak's party was complete at the Calcutta Congress of 1906

THE SURAT IMBROGLIO

The next session of the Congress was, by invitation, to be held at Nagpur. A Reception Committee was formed early in February. The majority of the members of the Committee were Tilak's followers. Seeing that their leader could not be elected President, they withdrew from the Committee. The remaining members appealed to the All India Congress Committee to change the place of meeting. Accordingly, it was decided to hold the Congress at Surat. Taking advantage of these divisions among the Congressmen, Government carried on a campaign of ruthless repression. The Colonisation Bill and the Land Alienation Act Amendment Bill were passed by the Punjab Government in the teeth of

popular opposition. Land Revenue was increased in the Rawalpindi Districts, canal rates were enhanced in the Bari-Doab canal; the Editor and the Proprietor of the *Punjabee* were prosecuted; Mr. Lala Lajput Rai and Sirdar Ajit Singh were deported (May, 1907). In Bengal, the Editor of *Yugantar* was sent to gaol; the Editor of *Sandhya* was prosecuted; and Babu Arabinda Ghosh was arrested on a charge of sedition. On 1st November, 1907, the Seditious Meetings Act was passed in spite of the opposition of even Moderates like Mr Gokhale. These ill-conceived and ill-advised acts of an insane Bureaucracy enraged and exasperated the people beyond measure the whole of India was seething with indignation. On 11th November, 1907, Mr Lala Lajput Rai was released. As he was the hero of the hour, feeling in the country was strong in favour of electing him President. His name was suggested by the Nationalist section of the Surat Reception Committee. The Moderates had already decided to have Dr. Rash Behari Ghose installed on the Presidential gadi, and, therefore, turned a deaf ear to all other proposals. The Moderate element was strong in the Committee, and the proposal to elect Mr. Lala Lajput Rai as President was sure to have been

thrown out, if it had been contended, and hence, prudently enough, it was not pressed. Then, about a week or so before the meeting of the Congress a list of the subjects to be considered by it was published. It would appear that this list did not include Self government, Boycott and National Education. These notable omissions signified a retrograde policy on the part of the Moderates. Tilak reached Surat on 23rd December. The next day the Nationalists met in a conference under the presidency of Mr Arbindr Ghosh and decided to fight against the tendency to recede from the policy laid down by the Calcutta Congress. A letter was sent to the Secretaries of the Congress, asking them to make arrangements to divide the house on all important questions. The Reception Committee published a note in the press stating that the rumour that resolutions relating to Self government, Boycott and National Education were omitted from the agenda was wholly unfounded. On the morning of the 25th, Tilak got a copy of the draft of the Congress Constitution prepared by Mr Gokhale. The object of the Congress was therein stated as follows — 'The Indian National Congress has for its ultimate goal, the attainment by India of Self government similar

to that enjoyed by the other members of the British Empire." In the course of a speech he delivered just after he got the draft, Tilak explained the objects stated in the draft as an attempt to exclude the Nationalists from the Congress. Mr. Lala Lajput Rai arrived at Surat on the 25th morning. In order to avoid serious disputes and complications, he publicly stated that he would not consent to preside over the deliberations of the Congress even if he was pressed to do so. Then he met Tilak and Mr. Kapharde and proposed to hold a small conference of members of all parties, with a view to discuss all contentious questions and arrive at an amicable compromise. Tilak agreed to take part in the joint conference, but he did not receive any intimation until the next morning. In the meantime, Tilak and Mr. Kapharde met Mr. Surendranath Banerjea and clearly stated that they would withdraw all opposition if the Nationalist party was assured that the *Status quo* be not disturbed and if some graceful allusion was made by any one of the speakers on the resolution about the election of the President to the desire of the public to have Mr. Lala Lajput Rai in the chair. The latter condition Mr. Banerjea accepted as he was

himself to speak on the resolution formally proposing the President, and as for the former demand, he said he would not, as far as he was concerned, be a party to any such deviation from the *Status quo* apprehended by Tilak and his party. Tilak tried to see Mr. Malvi, Chairman of the Reception Committee but could not see him as the latter was either unwilling to see Tilak, or, in fact, had no time to do so. Tilak asked for a copy of the draft resolutions, and was supplied with one at 3 p.m. on the 26th, though the reporter of an anglo-Indian paper, the *Advocate of India*, got it the previous day! This gross negligence on the part of the responsible men of the Congress, the Secretaries and others who were Moderates, was really exasperating and had no justification whatsoever. Tilak had, therefore, to follow, much against his will but in the interests of the country, the only course—of opposition from the very beginning. After the Chairman of the Reception Committee had read his address, the resolution proposing Dr. Rash Behari Ghose as President of the Congress came up. When Mr. Surendranath Banerjee rose to speak on it he was shouted down, and even his trumpet voice was silenced. There was a great commotion in the

pandal. The session was, therefore, adjourned for the next day. At 8 p.m (26th December) Mr. Chunilal Saraya, Vice-Chairman of the Reception Committee, met Tilak and proposed that there should be a meeting that night between Mr. Gokhale and Tilak and that the differences should be settled. Tilak agreed to attend the meeting at any hour of the night; but no meeting was held, and Mr Chunilal himself did not see Tilak before 11 a.m. the next day (27th). Mr. Chunilal requested Tilak and Mr. Kapharde to meet Dr. Rutherford, M.P., at Professor Gajjar's Bangalow where the Doctor was arranging for a reconciliation. Accordingly, Tilak went to the bangalow; but Dr. Rutherford did not come. Thereupon, Tilak proposed that the election of the President should be put off for a while and a committee consisting of one Moderate and one Nationalist from every province should be formed and the differences settled. Professor Gajjar and Mr Chunilal undertook to convey this proposal of Tilak to Sir P.M. Mehta, but, unfortunately, nothing came out of all this. Then, Tilak sent the following note to Mr. Malvi, Chairman of the Reception Committee:—

Sir,

I wish to address the delegates on the proposal of

the election of the President after it is seconded I wish to move an adjournment with a constructive proposal Please announce me.

Yours Sincerely,

B G Tilak

Deccan Delegate (Poona)

The Chairman did not send a reply The Congress meeting began at 1 p m Mr Banerjea was called upon to resume his speech He was calmly heard Then Tilak sent a reminder to Mr Malvi The latter was exasperatingly silent. Tilak, therefore, proceeded to the platform as soon as Mr Banerjea finished his speech A Volunteer held him back Anyhow, he got upon the platform In the meantime, Dr Ghose had taken his seat on the Presidential chair on the ground that by the time Tilak came up on the platform and stood in front of the President, the motion of election had been passed Shouts began Tilak insisted on his right to address the Delegates and told Dr Ghose that he had not been properly elected when he (the latter) began to interfere One of the Secretaries of the Reception Committee touched Tilak a person but was pushed aside. Mr Gokhale intervened and objected to any one touching Tilak a person Great confusion prevailed Shoes and lathies

were freely employed. A shoe hit both Sir P. M. Mehta and Mr. Sūrendrānath Banerjea who were sitting side by side. Dr. Ghose attempted to read his address, but in vain, and so, he suspended the proceedings *sine die*. Though undelivered, Dr Ghose's address had appeared in the press and it contained certain offensive remarks against the Nationalist party. This added fuel to the fire and roused party feelings very much. Messrs. Motilal Ghosh, A. C. Mitra, B. C. Chatterjea and Lala Hari Krishan Lal made a supreme effort to bring about a compromise. They met Tilak on the night of the 27th and on the morning of the next day. To every one of them, Tilak gave the following written undertaking:—
 "With reference to our conversation and principally in the best interests of the Congress, I and my party are prepared to waive our opposition to the election of Dr. Ghose as President of the 23rd Indian National Congress, and we are prepared to act in the spirit of forget and forgive provided, firstly, that last year's resolutions on Swaraj, Swadeshi, Boycott and National Education are adhered to and each expressly re-affirmed, and secondly, such passages, if any, in Dr. Ghose's speech as may be offensive to the Nationalist party

are omitted " Even this did not please the overweening Moderates, and so both the parties departed in the midst of bitterness and rancour. It is often stated that Tilak stirred up party spirit and was a destructive politician, nothing is more absurd than this. The following passage from one of his articles in the *Kesari*, just after the split at Surat, should disillusion such a belief—" Both the Moderates and the Nationalists must remember that persons belonging to both the parties are actuated by a sincere desire to promote the welfare of the country, and that none is deliberately working to bring about the ruin of the country. If both parties start with this assumption, if both are willing to accept the existence of differences of opinion as inevitable and as constituting a healthy sign in the body politic, there would be less room for misunderstandings. Both the parties should realise that only in unity there is safety and that this unity they have to keep in spite of acute differences of opinion. Neither should try to stamp out the other and both should, while exerting their utmost to get the upper hand in the national assemblies conducted by the united efforts of the Moderates and the Nationalists, never abuse their supre-

macy by trying to crush or cripple their opponents, namely, the other party. The Moderates should remember that it is because the New party has come into existence that the Bureaucracy condescends to "rally" them. The Nationalists must understand that though the caution and hesitation of the Moderates is often galling to them, still their influence and prestige is not to be despised." Can any one honestly say that the writer of the above passage was a destructive genius?

EVIDENCE BEFORE THE DECENTRALISATION COMMISSION.

Lord Curzon's high-handedness disclosed a colossal centralisation of all authority in the Government of India, with a view to lessen such centralisation and to transfer the powers of the Central Government, by a process of devolution, to the Provincial Governments, a commission of enquiry (the Decentralisation Commission) was appointed early in 1908 Tilak was one of those who gave evidence before it. His evidence is regarded even today as a remarkable document His analysis was thorough, his reasoning tersely logical and cogent, and his criticisms pungent. The concluding portion of the evidence is characteristic and

deserves reproduction "The mere shifting of the centre of power and authority from one official to another is not, in my opinion, calculated to restore the feelings of cordiality between the officers and the people, prevailing in earlier days. English education has created new aspirations and ideals amongst the people and so long as these national aspirations remain unsatisfied, it is useless to accept that the hiatus between the officers and the people could be removed by any scheme of official decentralisation. It is no remedy—not even a palliative against the evil complained of, nor was it put forward by the people or their leaders. The fluctuating wave of decentralisation may infuse more or less life in the individual members of the Bureaucracy but it cannot remove the growing estrangement between the rulers and the ruled, unless and until the people are allowed more and more effective voice in the management of their own affairs in an ever-expansive spirit of wise liberalism and wide sympathy aiming at raising India to the level of self governing countries."

TILAK'S ACTIVITIES IN 1908

Throughout the year 1908, Tilak was doing National work of all kinds. He collec-

ted funds to start a Marathi daily—the *Rashtra-Mat*—which came into existence in June. With a view to strengthen the financial position of the Samarth Vidyalaya, he toured throughout the Maharashtra and collected about Rs. 50,000. In March, he was busy about the work of the Poona District Conference. After that he organised picketting of liquor shops throughout the Maharashtra. Then he attended the Provincial Conference at Dulia. The incident in April caused a great change in the atmosphere and the outlook of Anglo-India and the Bureaucracy. Not in the least perturbed by this change, Tilak went on with his work, covered the whole of Maharashtra with a net-work of bands of picketters. The work carried on by these bands was so peaceful and thorough that it was real, substantial and enduring; although the guardians of Law and order, now and then, interfered with the activities. For example, the District Magistrate at Lonavla passed an order to the effect that people should not “congregate and loiter daily in the vicinity of the country liquor shops at Karla and Lonavla with the purpose of preventing customers from entering the shops.” A huge meeting was held and the high-

were filled with consternation; the Government went mad and resorted to repression. The position of Tilak and his party became unenviable. Undaunted by the odds against him, Tilak pointed out that anarchism was due to the unsympathetic rule of an alien Bureaucracy. The Government, however, attributed it to the activities of "the agitators". Even the statement published in the press by Tilak and about 24 leading Nationalists of the Maharashtra regretting the acts of violence committed in Bengal, was not taken into account. On 24th June, Tilak was arrested on a charge of sedition under sections 124-A and 153-A, and committed to the criminal sessions of the Bombay High Court

THE TRIAL

Mr Muhamad Ali Jinnah appeared for Tilak and applied on the 2nd July for bail which was refused. It was decided that Tilak should be tried by a Special Jury. Appearing on behalf of the accused, Mr Baptista argued that if the Jury had a European majority it was most unfair to Tilak as the Europeans could not understand Marathi, the language in which the articles had been written and as there was a charge against him that he excited hatred against Europeans Mr. Baptista's arguments,

PRIOR TO THE "HOME RULE" MOVEMENT

The cruel treatment accorded to Tilak was only one of a series of measures adopted by the Government to crush the Nationalist movement. With the ample support of the Moderate party throughout the country, it was but an easy task for Government to put the Nationalists to utter discomfiture. And so it came to pass. Almost all the things that Tilak had done were undone during his absence. National Schools were deserted and the *Samitis* suppressed, the arbitration courts dwindled away, popular leaders were removed from the field of their activities by Government, or else they sought exile. The Indian National Congress became a *Jo-hokum* body under the leadership of the autocrat of Bombay Sir P. M. Mehta and his camp follower, Mr. G. K. Gokhale. The Minto-Morley Reforms deluded the Moderates. A number of repressive measures were adopted by Government at the same time. When Tilak returned from his exile, he found his party paralysed, public life demoralised by Governmental coercion on the one hand and on the other hand by toadyism on the part of a section of Indians who asked for "boons."

and were satisfied even with crumbs. He found the Indian National Congress, a weak, timid body, clinging to the feet of the Bureaucracy and adopting a most cringing tone. There was, however, one redeeming feature: that lady of wonderful genius and talents and of international reputation, and a tried friend of India,—Mrs. Besant, had taken to politics. Her entry into the arena of Indian politics gave strength to the National movement at a most critical time. In the beginning she devoted all her attention to the consolidation of the various parties, to the strengthening of the Congress. Tilak's programme of work was more or less the same—the Congress-compromise, the reorganisation of the Nationalist party and the setting on foot of a strong agitation for Home Rule. Without losing any time, Tilak again set about his work. It was about this time that the Great War between England and Germany broke out. Though Tilak had been most unfairly treated by Government and was subjected to galling tyranny by the C.I.D. and other underlings of Government even after his return from Mandalay, he did not feel embittered against Government but came forward to help England in her hour of trial.

Some of his opponents stood aghast at his declaration of loyalty. Tilak's declaration that "at such a crisis it is the duty of every Indian, be he great or small, rich or poor, to support and assist His Majesty's Government to the best of his ability" cleared a great deal of misunderstanding so much so that even the *Advocate of India* of Bombay took Tilak for "one of our loyalest and truest friends" and called upon his detractors to admit their mistake and make at the earliest possible moment the *amende honorable*. Taking advantage of Tilak's change of attitude, Mrs Besant worked hard to bring about a compromise between the much abused Moderates and the much persecuted Extremists. She approached Sir P. M. Mehta, who, however, refused to abide by her terms of compromise and took objection to the re-entry of Tilak and his fire brands into the Congress fold. Enraged by his uncompromising and stubborn attitude, Mrs Besant wrote one of her most remarkable articles in her *New India*, in which she called the old Congress leaders, who were unwilling to go forward and looked down upon all efforts to go forward as 'Yesterdays'. There were other difficulties also in the way of the compromise. In the absence

of Tilak and other leaders of the Nationalist party, the Moderates had made the Congress constitution so rigid and narrow, that it was practically impossible for a Nationalist to become a delegate. Mrs. Besant wanted to remove this disability. It was with this object that she proposed to move in the Congress of 1914 that article XX of the Congress Constitution should be so amended as to make it possible for the Nationalists to attend the Congress as delegates. Her efforts were in vain; the compromise failed. The circumstances relating to the failure of the compromise were thus described by the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*—"Mrs Besant accompanied by Mr. Subbarao, the General Secretary of the Madras Congress (1914) went to Poona in the first week of December (1914) and conferred with Messrs Tilak, Gokhale and other leading publicists of Poona. The suggested amendment of article XX of the Congress Constitution was agreed. Thereupon Mr. Subbarao went over to Bombay to consult Sir Pherozesha; he returned disappointed. Then he met Mr. Tilak, had a long talk with him, which frightened him as well as Mr. Gokhale to whom it was subsequently reported Mr. Gokhale was convinced that Mr. Tilak's re-entry into the Congress

camp would only be a signal for a revival of the old struggle. He, therefore, withdrew his support from the proposed amendment, sent an oral message to Mrs. Besant accordingly and in reply to a letter from the President-elect, wrote to him a confidential letter explaining the reasons of his change of view. That letter or its revised copy became 'public property' at once. It was stated in this communication that Mr. Tilak had openly avowed his intention of adopting the boycott of Government and obstructionist methods like those of the Irish if he entered Congress. The matter was prominently brought to the notice of the Subjects Committee and, naturally, the ears of many of its members were poisoned against the Mahratta patriot behind his back. In the meantime, Mrs. Besant wired to Mr. Tilak to ascertain the truth or otherwise of the allegation, and not only did he give a direct lie to it but said that many of his colleagues and followers were actually serving either in the Legislative Council or in the Municipalities and District Boards! Mr. Tilak's telegram however, came too late to mend matters. An apology was, no doubt, offered to him and charges against him were withdrawn, but his enemies triumphed in the end by getting the question of

reconciliation postponed and a committee appointed to consider it" The Committee appointed at Madras to consider that question of compromise submitted a report which was discussed in the Bombay Congress (1915). The section XX of the Congress constitution was amended so as to grant the power of electing delegates to public meetings convened under the auspices of any association, which is not of less than two years standing on 31st December, 1915 and which has for one of its objects the attainment of Self-government by India on Colonial lines within the British Empire by constitutional means" Tilak ungrudgingly accepted this compromise, though it was only a half-hearted concession, because Tilak recognised that the time needed unity and organisation among Indian politicians In the course of a public lecture in Bombay during the Congress week (1915), Mrs. Besant urged that the Congress should carry on steady propaganda throughout the year, and declared in an almost threatening tone that she would start an organisation to do the work if the Congress did not accept her suggestion Some purblind reactionaries who looked upon Tilak and Mrs. Besant as "dangerous extremists"

discountenanced the move. Tilak and Mrs. Besant did not care for their opposition open or covert, and began a huge agitation in favour of Home Rule for India, started the All India Home Rule League and established branches of the League in all parts of the country, Tilak directing the activities in the Maharashtra and Mrs. Besant doing the same in Madras presidency.

THE WAR AND DEMAND FOR HOME RULE.

Tilak did splendid work in order to help England to prosecute the war successfully. He did so because he was ever loyal to the British throne and to the British connection because he saw that the political destinies of his country were for the time being indissolubly connected with those of Great Britain because he recognised that the triumph of Germany would mean the triumph of autocracy and militarism over Democracy and freedom. He could not however excuse the Bureaucracy in India for its blunders. The Bureaucracy was only an agent of the Imperial Government of His Majesty the King Emperor. It was quite legitimate to condemn the actions of the agent and demand that a bad agent should be sent out and a

better agent appointed. Tilak was a friend of the British connection, but an uncompromising foe of the ever-blundering and selfish Bureaucracy. This the Bureaucracy did not understand, and thwarted all his efforts to help England in her hour of trial and tribulation. Tilak wanted to recruit as many young men as he could. He once declared — "If age and grey hair are no disqualification, I am prepared to stand in the fighting line." He pointed out in the innumerable speeches he delivered at that time that India had splendid man-power and that England could use it against Germany, in which case there should have been no need to enforce conscription in England, but all these earnest appeals fell on deaf ears. The Bureaucracy were extremely dull and slow; they advertised for a force of 6000 men among thirty crores of people! Tilak promised six millions and more. The Government did not at all give heed to these declarations of a responsible and influential Indian leader. Nay, they looked upon Tilak and his activities with suspicion and distrust! The Premier asked the Government of India to do certain things to please the Indian peoples so as to appeal to their imagination,—to appeal to what was called

"the Imperialistic instinct," and in response the Government of India passed the Defence of India Act; the wise satrap of the Punjab and the Commissioner of Delhi passed orders of externment against Tilak and the Governor of Madras and the notorious Sir Michael O'Dwyer condemned the demand for Home Rule in strong language. Tilak took these ill advised measures of the Government in a calm way and assiduously carried on his work. Side by side with war work, Tilak also carried on the agitation for Home Rule. He held that liberty was a non-contentious matter and that India could not wait for it. Having fought for liberty in the battle fields of Europe she could not keep quiet when she was denied the same in her home. Some of the Anglo Indian journals had the meanness to characterise the demand for Home Rule as 'political huckstering'. Even if it were so, it was only after the example of Canada and Australia and in consonance with Mr Bonar Law's dictum. Strike the iron, while it is hot. Tilak did not care a brass farthing for what the Anglo Indian waverers thought about his agitation for Home Rule. He attended the 1st & 2nd Provincial Conference organised by himself and presided over by

Mr. Joseph Baptista, and there consolidated the Nationalist party which contributed about a 1000 delegates to the Conference. The Belgaum Provincial Conference (1916) was equally successful and further strengthened the Nationalist party. The position of Tilak and his party was strong enough and he could, if he chose, set the Moderates at defiance, he did not, however, being a far-sighted statesman and genuine patriot, choose to do so. He felt that unity was the greatest need of the country at that time. For the sake of unity, he accepted even the Memorandum of Reforms prepared by nineteen Members of the Imperial Legislative Council, though he was, personally in favour of more radical changes in the administrative machinery than those proposed in the Memorandum. Throughout the year 1916, it is very gratifying to note, both Tilak and Mrs. Besant worked along more or less the same lines, and for the same object. The Moderates, however, with the exception of the Hon. Mr. V S Srinivasa Sastri, were not one with Mrs. Besant and Tilak, though they were not bold enough to lead a counter-organisation. The Government were bent up on crushing the Home Rule movement, and gave immense trouble both

to Tilak and Mrs Besant. On 23rd July, 1916 Tilak's sixty first birth day was celebrated. A huge mass meeting of 5000 people was held. A number of congratulatory addresses were read. Tilak was presented with various things, besides a purse of one lakh of rupees.

SECURITY FOR GOOD BEHAVIOUR.

Government, too presented him with a notice calling upon him to show cause why he should not be bound over for good behaviour for a period of one year in a sum of Rupees 20 000 in his own recognizance and in two securities of Rs. 10 000 each. They did not stop here. Tilak's three speeches on Home Rule delivered at Belgaum and Ahmednagar were taken objection to. The case came up for hearing before the District Magistrate of Poona on 7th May 1919. The Counsel for Government made it clear that Government's objection was not to Home Rule but to Tilak's speeches on Home Rule. He read isolated passages cut off from the context and proved his case against Tilak. Accordingly the Magistrate declared that Tilak wanted to disaffect his audience against Government when he told the people 'that they were slaves that their grievances remained unre-

dressed and that the Government only considers its interests which are alien to those of the Indians and intends to keep the people in slavery under the excuse that Indians are not fit to rule themselves." Further, the Magistrate directed Tilak "to enter into a bond in a sum of Rs. 20,000 with two sureties each in the sum of Rs. 10,000 to be of good behaviour for a period of one year. Tilak made an appeal to the High Court and the Magistrate's decision was quashed by Mr Justice Batchelor and Mr. Justice Sir Lallubhai Shah. The former wrote:—"Probably the fairest way to ascertain the effect is to read the three speeches from beginning to end, quietly and attentively, remembering the arguments and remembering the politically ignorant audience to whom Mr Tilak was addressing. I have so read these speeches, not once, but several times, and the impression left on the mind is that, on the whole, despite certain passages which are rightly objected to by the prosecution, the general effect would not probably and naturally be to cause disaffection, that is hostility or enmity or contempt.." The decision of the High Court reversing that of the District Magistrate of Poona sent a thrill of joy throughout the country. Another

attempt was made to bring Tilak to book. He was served, with an order preventing him from addressing any meeting at Gadag, where he had gone on private business. The order was served just a few minutes before he was to address the huge gathering that had assembled to honour him. He did not disobey the order as was expected by the authorities. He took *fanisufari* and dispersed the vast gathering.

THE LUCKNOW CONGRESS

Tilak re-entered the Congress at Lucknow (December 1916). He was received with a tremendous ovation. He replied — "I am not foolish enough to think that this reception is given to my humble self. It is given if I rightly understand to those principles which have been embodied in the resolution I have the honour to support. I am glad to say that I have lived these ten years to see that we are going to put our voices and shoulders together to push on the scheme of Self Government. We are now united in every way in the United Provinces. Thanks to the noble efforts of the President of the Congress, Mr. Ambabacharan Mahasabam and of Mrs. Besant, the Moderates and the Union

lists met as friends and fellow-workers for the common good of the motherland. The part played by Tilak was appreciated throughout the country, to the utter discomfiture of some of his inveterate enemies and detractors. The following statesmanlike utterance of Tilak removed all misunderstandings relating to his attitude towards the Muhammadans. He said: "It has been said that we, Hindus have yielded too much to our Muhammadan brethren. I am sure, I represent the sense of the Hindu community all over India, when I say that we could not have yielded too much. I would not care if the rights of Self-Government are granted to the Muhammadan community only. I would not care if they are granted to the Rajputs only. I would not care if they are granted to the lower classes of the Hindu population. Then the fight will not be triangular as at present it is." The Lucknow Congress empowered the All-India Congress Committee to prepare a scheme of post-war reforms. Accordingly, a scheme was sketched

It was but an improvement over the fourteen Members Memorandum," and subsequently accepted by the All-India Muslim League. Thus the Congress-League Scheme became the demand of all sections of the

Indian people—the Moderates and the Extremists, the Hindus and Muslims. It was regarded as “the irreducible minimum of Indian demands.”

THE NATION'S DEMAND

During the first quarter of the year 1917 all the leaders harped upon this scheme and explained its chief features to the masses by means of innumerable speeches and leaflets. Mrs. Besant conducted the agitation in the Madras presidency. She used to consult Tilak frequently. The two thus put their heads together and carried on the agitation in such an organised and systematic way that the bureaucracy was stunned. To prevent Mrs. Besant from co-operating with Tilak the Governor of Bombay (Lord Willingdon) passed an order

man in protest against the cruel treatment accorded to Mrs Besant, for, in interning her and her co-workers the Government sought to strike a deadly blow at the agitation for Home Rule. All responsible Indian publicists joined to put up a strong fight. Mr. Jinnah and several other leading members of the Muslim League signified their protest by joining the Home Rule League soon after the internment order was known. Pandit Madana Mohan declared in a public speech that Government sought to stifle India's demand for liberty by interning three friends of Indian aspirations. The *Hindu* of Madras, and its talented editor, Mr S. Kasturiranga Aiyangar, set aside all their personal differences with the interned and kept on fighting steadily and vigourously. Dr Subrahmanya Aiyar, the "Grand Old Man" of Madras, though blind, weak and crippled by age, roared like a lion from his "Beach-house". Tilak led the agitation in the Maharashtra. He declared "If we want to prove how keenly we feel for her, let us elect her President of the coming Congress." Though some of the timid Moderates demurred at this timely and statesmanlike suggestion, the country, in general, was in its favour and most of the Provincial Congress Committees nominated Mrs Besant

as President of the year's Congress. The acceptance of Tilak's suggestion marked the triumph of his party over the Moderates whose political creed was "Do not openly flout the Government, for, the Government will throttle our movement in no time. The choice of Mrs Besant meant that India had given up the policy of mendicancy, realised her self respect and made up her mind to fight for her freedom right up to the end. Indeed, the nomination of Mrs Besant for the Presidentship of the Congress was a bold challenge to the Government to do their worst to measure their weapon of repression against the determination of one fifth of the human race to win its freedom from foreign domination. The nation went further it made it clear that passive resistance would be resorted to as a last step

THE DECLARATION OF POLICY · RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

At this time, Mr Montagu was appointed Secretary of State for India. He was confronted with a complicated situation. England was engaged in the war against Germany and could not bestow any thought on the Indian problem. The Bureaucracy in India had so badly managed Indian affairs, and enraged and exasperated the Indian people that some urgent interference was necessary. Civilised humanity was sitting in judgment over England. If England did not at least promise some measure of Self-government to India she would be accused of hypocrisy. And so a change in the "angle of vision" was forced. Mr Montagu recognised these factors in the situation, and made the historic declaration of 20th August, 1917. He declared that the goal of British policy in India was "Responsible Government" and that the time and measure of every advance towards responsible government should be determined by the Government of India. This declaration brought about a radical change in the situation. Mrs. Besant and the other interned were set at liberty. Mr. Montagu visited India and toured throughout the country, accompanied by the Viceroy. He

received a number of deputations, addresses and memoranda of Reforms. The majority of these stood by the Congress-League scheme. Tilak had a long interview with the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India and was well received. Mr. Montagu was very much impressed with Tilak's persuasiveness, cogency and lucidity. It would appear that attempts were made to 'capture' Tilak and get from him a promise to accept the Reforms to be granted, whatever their nature, but he had too strong a will and too clear a perception to be easily hoodwinked by Montagu and Chelmsfords. The Montagu mission came to an end and after considerable delay the Report of Constitutional Reforms was published.

THE CALCUTTA CONGRESS

In the meantime, while the Secretary of State was engaged in enquiring into the Indian problem on the spot, the annual session of the Congress came to be held with Mrs. Besant on the Presidential chair. Tilak came to Calcutta with 500 Nationalist delegates. It would appear that Tilak was asked by several of his friends in Calcutta why he had consented to the elevation of Mrs. Besant to the Presidential chair, a question which he

answered by saying that "Mrs Besant should be used" for the purpose of furthering India's cause. What he meant was that Mrs Besant was, at that time, representing the cause of Indian Home rule, and so had been persecuted by Government, and her election as President of the Congress would constitute an open challenge to the Bureaucracy and thus served the cause of India. It is a pity that this frank expression of Tilak should have been misunderstood by Mrs. Besant after two years, and used against him. At the Calcutta Congress, Tilak spoke on two subjects—the Ali Brothers and on Self-government resolution. The old and proud mother of the Alis there sat by the side of Mrs. Besant, and heard the glowing tribute paid to her sons by one who alone had the right to speak of self-sacrificing patriotism, for he had suffered most for the country. His speech on the Self-government Resolution was perhaps the longest of his speeches delivered in the Congress. In that speech he gave a masterly analysis of the situation and a clear lead. Mr Bipin Chandra Pal had opposed that part of the resolution which expressed gratitude to Mr. Montagu for the August Declaration. His ground was that a nation's thanks should be

dear, and that it was too premature to thank anybody for the Declaration. Tilak explained the resolution in such a way as to please both the Moderates and ultra Nationalists like Mr Pal. His plea for the introduction of responsibility in the Central Government was very convincing. He likened the Government to a diseased person who had been suffering from some constitutional malady. A constitutional malady, he argued, could be removed only by some constitutional remedy. Some kind of brain tonic should be administered to the diseased person and then alone the various limbs of his body would resume their ordinary functions. On the other hand he warned his countrymen against persons like Sir Lionel Curtis and Sir Valentine Chirol who had been striving to make the reforms as nominal and as shallow as possible while keeping within the letter of the August Declaration.

THE REFORM SCHEME

Soon after the Calcutta Congress, Tilak collected funds with a view to start a deputation to England to enlighten the British Democracy on Indian needs and aspirations. The Deputation consisted of Tilak, Mr Bipin Chandra Pal, the Hon. Mr G. S. Kapharde

and a few others. It went as far as Colombo. The passports that had been granted were all on a sudden cancelled. The reason was that England was engaged in war and that Indian affairs should not be thrust into her attention. Tilak returned to Poona and waited for some time more. The Report on Constitutional Reforms was published. It proved to be a veritable apple of discord. Some leaders wanted to reject the scheme in toto. Mrs Besant said that it was unworthy of England to offer and unworthy of India to accept. Even Subrahmanya Aiyar advised his countrymen not to touch the narcotic that had been offered to them. The Moderate leaders praised the authors of the report beyond measure and declared that the Reforms promised in the Report would usher in the millenium. They deluded themselves into the belief that the Extremist leaders of the Congress had made up their minds to reject the scheme in toto, and that they should stand by the Reform Scheme. They further conspired among themselves that, in view of the grave danger of the proposed constitutional changes being rejected by the Extremists, efforts should be made to "save" the Reforms. Therefore, with the noble purpose of "saving the

Reforms ' from the onslaught of the cruel Extremists, Moderate or Liberal organisations sprang into existence, and efforts were made for holding a Conference of persons of Moderate persuasion to receive—'accept' is the classical expression—the Reforms with out stretched arms! Against the cantankerous Extremist and the self-deluded Moderate, Tilak had an arduous task to perform. It might have been possible for him to clear the mist of misunderstanding between these sections of politicians if he had not been gagged by an order of the Bombay Government. A Special Congress was proposed to be held at Bombay. The Moderates decided to secede from the Congress and to hold a separate conference at the same place. This fatal secession was brought about chiefly through the efforts of the *Leader* of Allahabad and the *Servant of India* of Poona, organs of Moderate opinion which should now feel ashamed of the unpatriotic part they played at that time. In spite of this secession of the minority the Special Congress was a splendid success. Tilak refused to accept the Presidentship of the session with a view to avoid unnecessary misapprehensions in the minds of the Moderates. At the Special Congress speaking on the

resolution on the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, Tilak expressed the following sentiments:—“What we have tried to do in the Subjects Committee is to distil our different opinions, and it was very difficult to distil the “gourds and the cucumbers” together. It was no easy task, even our enemies had considered it to be difficult. They believed that we were engaged in an impossible business and that by the beginning of September the Congress would be nowhere. Unfortunately for them, their predictions have not proved true. So long as the spirit of forbearance and the spirit of give-and-take pervades in the councils of the Congress such a fatal contingency is never likely to arise. We were told that the Congress was going to reject the whole scheme. I could never understand, and have never understood, what it meant. We are in the midst of our negotiations. If you reject the scheme you have done with it. What are you then going to tell the British people? That we reject the scheme? I think that we have learnt enough of politics to know that it is absurd to take such a position. Fortunately for all, we have been able to place before you a reasoned document, a resolution, which combines the wisdom of one party, and I may say, the temperament of

another party, and if you like to call it—I do not like to call it myself—the rashness of a third party. The Montagu Report is a beautiful, a very skilful and a statesmanlike document. We asked for eight annas of self-government, that Report gives us one anna of Responsible government and says that it is better than the eight annas of self government. The whole literary skill of the Report lies in making us believe that one morsel of responsible self-government is more than sufficient to satisfy our hunger for self government. We now plainly say to the Government, 'We thank you for the one anna of Responsible Government, but in the scheme we want to embody not all that is embodied in the Congress League scheme, the rails might be different but the carriages that carry passengers might be transferred from one rail to another. That is what we have tried to do and we have tried to satisfy all parties concerned and a very difficult task has been accomplished. The future way is clear and I hope that what we have done will be of material help in carrying on this fight to the end.' This speech brings out in bold relief the diplomatic skill and the argumentative ability of Tilak. The sensible view he took silenced many of the adverse critics of the

Congress and of his party and falsified the apprehensions of his Moderate countrymen. The seceders too realised their folly ; some of them rejoined the Congress at Delhi, persons like the Hon. Mr. Surendranath keeping aloof on account of a false sense of prestige.

IN ENGLAND · THE CASE AGAINST CHIROL

The Government were after all willing to permit Tilak to go to England to prosecute his case against Sir Valentine Chirol for defamation ; but on one condition that he should not address any meeting in England. Accepting this condition, Tilak went to England. Dr Nair, the Non-Brahmana leader and ally of the anti-Indian fanatic, Lord Sydenham, was also gagged ; but the gagging order against Dr Nair was subsequently cancelled. The order on Tilak had also to be cancelled. He concentrated all his attention at first on the case against Chirol. The case had to be carried on in an atmosphere of prejudice. The publication of the Rowlatt report and the various measures of Government against Tilak had poisoned the ears of the British public against him. Sir Valentine was basking in the sunshine of the Imperial Government's favour. It was almost certain that

the decision would go against Tilak, but he had such great faith in British justice that he expected the British tribunal would go into the case in an impartial way and do justice to him. Another reason for his going to England to take action against Sir Valentine Chirol was that Chirol's book, *Indian Unrest*, was widely read throughout the Empire and the verdict of the highest judicial tribunal of the Empire should carry much weight. After elaborate preliminary proceedings, the case came up for hearing on 29th January 1919 before Mr Justice Darling. Sir John Simon K.C. and Mr E. F. Spence appeared for Tilak, Sir Edward Carson and two others for Sir Valentine Chirol and Messrs Macmillan and Company the publishers of the '*Indian Unrest*'. Sir Valentine Chirol had in that book worked out a clever thesis from the confidential reports submitted to Government by the C. I. D. He had laid several serious charges at Tilak's door. Some of them were that Tilak started some Cow protection Societies as a provocative to the Muhammadans that he organised gymnastic societies with a view to develop the martial instincts of the people for the deliberate purpose of employing force and that the judgment of the High Court in the *Tai Maha*

raj case was "extremely damaging to Tilak's private reputation as a man of honour or even of common honesty" The most serious charge was as follows "What Tilak could do by secret agitation and by a rabid campaign in the press to raise popular resentment to white-heat he did .. The inevitable consequences ensued. On June 27, 1897 Mr. Rand. and Lieut. Ayerst . were shot down by a young Chitpavan Brahmin No direct connection has been established between the crime and Tilak. In reply to the Magistrate who asked him why he committed the murder, Kanhere said, 'I read of many instances of oppression in the *Kesari*, the *Rashtramat* and the *Kal* and the other newspapers. I think that by killing Sahibs we people can get justice. I never got injustice myself, nor did any one I know of I now regret killing Mr Jackson I killed a good man carelessly'. Can any thing be more eloquent and convincing than the terrible pathos of this confession ? The three papers named by Kanhere were Tilak's organs It was no personal experience or knowledge of his that had driven Kanhere to his frenzied deed, but the slow, persistent poison dropped into his ear by the Tilak press. Though it was Kanhere's hand that struck down 'a good man carelessly' was not

Tilak rather than Kanhere the real author of the murder?" After Sir John Simon's opening address, which lasted for seven hours, was finished, Tilak was cross-examined by Sir Edward Carson, counsel for the Defendants. Some of his questions were irrelevant and conceived in bad taste. Tilak's answers were prompt, sharp to the point and dignified. Carson read a number of extracts from the *Ahasani* to prove the doctrines built up by the author of the Indian Unrest. His pleading was more or less a paraphrase of the sentiments contained in the book. In summing up the case Sir John Simon pointed out that questions whether Tilak ever published seditious articles or what he wrote led to murders or he had the friendship of the convicted persons were irrelevant. Concluding he said that the question was whether Sir Valentine Chirol's book contained matter defamatory to Tilak—that the Advocate General in conducting a case of sedition against Tilak just a month or so after Mr. Hard's murder clearly stated that there was no connection between Tilak's writings and the murder—that regarding Mr. Jackson's murder not even a single denunciation against him by Tilak had been produced—and that the confession of a wretched boy after the event was no theory to it.

taken as proper evidence Mr. Justice Darling's judgment was far from being impartial; it simply echoes the sentiments of Sir Edward Carson. The Jury too said ditto. Thus the atrocious libels of the unscrupulous Sir Valentine Chirol were justified by the highest Judicial tribunal in the Empire.

IN ENGLAND. HOME RULE PROPAGANDA.

No Indian leader did half as much as Tilak to enlighten the British democracy on Indian questions. He issued a number of leaflets and pamphlets and circulated them among the British people. Besides, he also spoke on several occasions. Though there are many who have held that Tilak was not a great success as a public speaker, no one could gainsay that he made a profound impression in the minds of the common people in England. His utterances were rich in logic and convincing argumentation and hence went home, though they were devoid of the rhetorical embellishments with which demagogues lure away the artless masses. Indeed, what need had he to employ empty rhetoric when his very life and personality were so telling and eloquent? A subtle logician, a profound scholar, an expert reader of men

and affairs, he knew how to win the hearts of the British people, how to adapt his style and reasoning to their tastes and temperament. Wherever he went he was asked to answer a number of questions. His answers were prompt and at once convincing. Once he was asked why India should not attain self Government step-by step. His answer was: How is it possible to go step by step in these days of electric lifts? One of the most difficult questions put to him was this: which of the several deputations that had come from India was the most representative of India? He answered this question thus: Some time ago Mr Asquith was the Premier of England. Now Mr Lyod George is the Premier. Mr Asquith ceased to be Premier not because he is a whit inferior to Mr Lyod George but that the English nation ceased to follow him. Similarly Mr Surendranath Banerjee, who is at the head of the Moderate Deputation is no longer followed by the people. The people of India have ceased to follow the lead of the Moderates: they follow that of the Congress and the Home Rule League. A reply of this kind was sure to go home. Tilak's work in England on behalf of his country centred mainly of propaganda work among the

British people, re-organisation of the British Congress Committee and of the affairs of *India*, the organ of the Indian National Congress in England, and giving evidence before the Joint Committee of the Parliament. He was able to exert a great deal of influence with the Labour Party. In spite of Mrs. Besant's efforts to make the leaders of the Labour Party desist from moving amendments to the Government of India Bill, Tilak succeeded in getting them to consent to move a number of important amendments. To the Labour party, Tilak's help was invaluable. With his help, they were able to convert the *Herald* into a daily paper. It was with very great difficulty that Tilak was able to re-organise the British Congress Committee. The Committee and the *India* continued to be Moderate in constitution and views, though the Moderates had seceded from the Congress. Mr. Polak, who was editing *India*, did not support the resolutions of the Delhi Congress. He had not cared to publish even the resolutions of the Special Congress! Disgusted at this state of affairs, Tilak wanted to re-organise the affairs, but, as he had no mandate from the Congress, he felt considerable difficulty. Some of the members

of the Committee assumed an air of supreme wisdom and importance. Fortunately the Delhi Congress took up the question charged the Congress Deputation in England with the work of re-organising the Congress Committee and stopped supplies until matters were righted. For some time even the mandate of the Congress was not obeyed by the Committee and Mr Polak. However three of the Directors of *India*—Dr Clark Dr Lutherford and Mr Parikh—asked Mr Polak if he could conscientiously support the policy of the Congress or not. Mr Polak's answer was resignation. Miss Norminton succeeded him as Editor. Through

pledged themselves to stand by Montagu and 'accept' whatever he gave, for they were honestly of opinion that if they did not stand by the Secretary of State for India and accept the fractional Swaraj he offered them the Sydenhamites supported by the toadies of the anti-Brahmana deputation, would wreck even the little good that Mr Montagu could do. Hence it was that the Hon Surendranath Banerjea pleaded before the Joint Committee that he and his party would accept what had been offered and be satisfied with it, if asking for more was likely to jeopardise the interests of India. Tilak's position was quite different. If Mr. Montagu was willing to give as much as India wanted, why not ask for more than that proposed to be given according to the Bill? It was bad strategy to say, 'What you give is sufficient'. Tilak harped upon these points; but the Moderates could never be brought round. He tried to bring all the parties together on a common platform regarding the Punjab affairs. Even in this matter they were unwilling to co-operate with the Congress. On the 6th August, 1919, Tilak gave evidence before the Joint Committee. He was asked to say all that he wanted to say in addition to his answers to the questions that had

been prepared by the Committee. His address was both concise and comprehensive, forcible and winning, striking and convincing. The members of the Joint Committee were too wise and therefore, did not choose to cross examine him; they did not require his presence for one minute longer than was absolutely necessary or as was once pointed out by Mr S. Kristuriranga Aiyangar they were afraid of facing his penetrating logic. The following is an estimate of Tilak's work in England by one of his esteemed friends: 'Mr. Tilak had to fight against great odds before the Deputation arrived in the matter of getting the London public to properly understand and appreciate the Congress scheme of reforms. At every meeting he impressed his audience with his remarkably terse statement of facts and brilliant reasoning. As all know what remarkable power Mr. Tilak possesses

he could, blast the Indian constitutional workers with his supreme contempt—to the facile and plausible official exponent who dared appear on the public platform to make the worse cause appear the better. But the final verdict of every audience Mr Tilak addressed was that while with his peculiar subtlety and tactfulness he put the Revolutionist out of court, he made mince-meat of the official or semi-official propagandist ”.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE REFORM ACT

Even when the Government of India Bill was still before the Parliament, Tilak started for India. As soon as he reached his Motherland he made a short tour in the country to focuss public opinion on the Reform Act. The events of the Punjab—unparalleled in their barbarity and inhumanity—had shocked the public mind; India's honour and self-respect had been wounded; and her sons and daughters were burning with indignation against the official miscreants of the Punjab. “Reform no reform, we must redeem our honour that had been insulted by the administrators of Martial Law in the Punjab”—this was the feeling in the country. And when Tilak arrived in India, the people

of Poona wanted to give him a public reception. Many can remember even now the ridiculous behaviour of Mr. Inanpyle (now Minister of Education Bombay) who opposed the proposal. This single episode apart Tilak was received well. He studied the outraged feelings of his countrymen and counselled them to be patient until the report of the Hunter Committee was published. In December 1919 just a few days before the Amritsar Congress, the Government of India Bill became an Act of Parliament. To other with this Mr. Montagu was clever enough to obtain a Royal Proclamation couched in most eloquent terms indeed some of them were very catching. There was also a ring of sincerity in the Proclamation. Realising this, Tilak sent a cable to the Secretary of State for India promising responsive co-operation.

India loyalty to Bureaucracy first and to people afterwards ... Let the authorities declare in what ways they are prepared to co-operate with us and we can assure them that if they co-operate with us, we can, with them Co-operation is mutual "At the Amritsar Congress also he was for the same "Responsive co-operation." Some eminent people, however, were under the misconception that he had gone back upon his own word. Mahatma Gandhi thought so and wanted that the Congress should declare, without any qualifications, that the country would co-operate with the Government in working the Reforms. Mahatma Gandhi believed that the Royal Proclamation was, in fact, a very great epoch-making document, inaugurating an era of unimpeded progress in all directions Further, he was of the opinion that the Reforms were granted mainly through the efforts of Mr. Montagu, Tilak differed from the Mahatma he held that the Royal Proclamation before them was just like the previous Royal and Viceregal Declarations, that it was a diplomatic utterance necessitated by circumstances, and that if "diplomacy should be met by diplomacy"—as it ought to be—the 'Congress should not

bind itself to unqualified co-operation. This difference led to prolonged debate. Pandit Madana Mohun Malaviya and Mrs Besant supported Mahatma Gandhi's amendment. Mr Bibu Bipin Chandra Pal, that veteran Nationalist of Bengal, defined the attitude of the Nationalists toward the Reform Act as "No thanks." It was indeed very difficult to bring about a compromise between Mahatma Gandhi and Lokamanya Tilak. Pandit Madana Mohun strove his best and achieved what seemed almost impossible. He asked Mrs Besant if she would be a party to the compromise. She greeted the request with a stiff negative. For according to her the

following ways - 'Guile must be met by Guile', 'Blackguardism by blackguardism' Another of his much-misunderstood remark was, "Truth has no place in politics" In the first place, it is very doubtful if the quotation is correct. Imperfect as it is, it means, and can mean only one thing that truth, in its absolute sense, may not always be applicable to all the complicated circumstances of a political fight

TILAK, GANDHI AND MRS BESANT

Lokamanya Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi had sharp differences of opinion, but they respected each other profoundly and there was not even a word of indignation or of rancour in their discussions Tilak recognised in the Mahatma a tremendous force for the good of the country, and had Tilak lived longer he might have brought Gandhi to follow his policy of "Responsive co-operation". With Mrs Besant, Tilak had a tough fight and, in the end, sent her out of leadership with "bell, book and candle" Since the Delhi Congress of 1918, her attitude towards Tilak was unfriendly In the Subjects Committee meeting of the Delhi Congress, she opposed the proposal to elect the Lokamanya as India's representative to the Peace Conference Her plea was that Tilak

was not popular among all sections of Indians the Moderates being dead against him. A similar objection could have been raised against any leader. Whether her motive was to insult Tilak or not no one can say. Anyhow, her opposition to that proposal left the sad impression in the minds of the people that she wanted to reign supreme in the world of Congress politics and so would, by all means curtail her adversary's influence in his absence. This attitude of hers was too much for Mr Tilak's ardent followers to brook and they therefore commenced a campaign against her. In the course of two able addresses in Madras Mr Bipin Chandra Pal mercilessly exposed her tactics. A terrible and unyielding fighter that she is she wrote a long reply in *New India* and endeavoured to prove by enumerating a number of incidents that the Nationalists led by Messrs C. R. Das and B. C. Pal had been in conspiracy against her. But all her efforts to re-establish herself in the confidence and estimation of the people were futile. She was ousted out of the All India Home-Rule League her own creature. All sections of Nationalists snapped their fingers at her. She was for a while inclined to seek admission into the conclave of the Liberals. But she was not by

nperament to be a Liberal. By joining
 a Liberal party she would have lost every
 ng, though the party would have derived
 m her a great deal of fire and inspiration
 e recognised the folly of committing such
volte face and, therefore, started another
 ganisation called the National Home Rule
 eague. That this League should have covered
 e whole of India with a number of branches
 thin a fortnight at the waving of Mrs Besant's
 agic wands speaks a volume about her wonder-
 l perseverance, powers of organisation and
 dying love for India. Getting herself
 ected as representative of the National Home
 le League she went to England and there
 d propagandist work. She followed a middle
 urse between the Congress and the Mode-
 tes. On her landing in England, Tilak met
 r, studied her humour and found that she
 as not inclined to co-operate with him. Tilak
 as anxious to win her over, because she had
 ught for India's cause so long and her adhe-
 on to the cause of the Congress would be a
 eat gain for the country. He requested
 r to forget the quarrels that began at Delhi;
 it she was reticent. Though Tilak himself
 ad done her no wrong some of his over-zealous
 llowers in the southern Presidency carried

on a campaign of vilification and mis-representation against her and she was the last person to forgive them. She did not co-operate with Tilak in England she learned more towards the Moderates. This led naturally to the decline of her influence in India. On her return she found she was more or less an absolute zero politically. At the Amritsar Congress her amendment to the resolution on the Reform Act was supported only by a handful of persons. This discomfiture drove her mad with anger. She commenced a campaign against the Lokamanya. Several times she held up to scorn his dictum "Diplomacy must be met by Diplomacy" and insinuated that he had very little regard for truth. Tilak however felt extremely sorry that his whilom friend should so misrepresent him, but never took her attacks

the question of woman's suffrage The Hon. Mr G S. Kapharde endorsed these charges. Mrs Besant made an appeal to the All-India Congress Committee As Mr. Patel had left India for England before the appeal was published, Tilak imposed on himself the task of replying to Mrs Besant He marshalled facts and figures and repudiated every one of her charges His long reply may be read with interest even now. This was the last straw on the camel's back, with this Mrs Besant's influence in the Congress camp was almost entirely gone Having been sent out of the camp of Congressmen with "bell, book and candle" she was in isolation for a while The Liberals sought her alliance and invited her to their conference She complied and went to theirs side Had Tilak and Mrs Besant continued to work together India should have gained much, but God decided otherwise. Her secession from the Congress camp was a serious loss to the Congress, it made her very unpopular, but the Liberals obtained a very virile ally.

TILAK AND NON-CO-OPERATION

Soon after the Amritsar Congress, Tilak mobilised his forces, made preparations for

electioneering and issued the programme of the Congress Democratic Party. In the meantime the terms of the Turkish treaty had enraged the bulk of Indian Muslims and driven them to adopt strong measures. The Central Khilafat Committee which had been constituted for the purpose of carrying on an agitation against the treaty adopted a programme of Non co-operation consisting of items like the relinquishing of titles given by Government the boycott of schools courts and councils and non payment of taxes. This programme met with Mahatma Gandhi's approval and he began to lead the movement. He had in the goodness of his saintly heart expected the Government of India and the British Cabinet to do justice to the Punjab. He was disappointed. He came to the conclusion

diction on it His attitude towards Non-co-
 operation was not, however, properly under-
 stood and even now persons are not wanting
 who twist his attitude in such a way as to suit
 their pet beliefs and theories It is often
 forgotten that the very idea of Non-co-opera-
 tion originated in him In the course of his
 speech on the "Tenets of the New party" deli-
 vered so long ago as 1907, he spoke as
 follows.—"We have perceived one fact, that
 the whole of this administration, which is
 carried on by a handful of Englishmen, is
 carried on with our assistance We are all in
 subordinate service have you not the
 power of self-denial and self-abstinence in
 such a way as not to assist this foreign
 Government to rule over you? This is boy-
 cott and this is what is meant when we say,
 boycott is a political weapon We shall not
 give them assistance to collect revenue and
 keep peace We shall not assist them in
 fighting beyond the frontiers or outside India
 with Indian blood and money. We shall not
 assist them in carrying on the administration
 of justice We shall have our own courts
 and when time comes we shall not pay taxes
 Can you do that by your united efforts?
 If you can, you are free from to-morrow"

It is not likely, therefore, that Tilak would have turned an opponent of Non-co-operation, but he would never have allowed the movement to run along channels of metaphysical abstractions under his inspiration and guidance it should not have deviated from normal political activity it should not have degenerated into a personal religion,—a peculiar type of fetishism characteristic of the primitive ages

'RESPONSIVE CO-OPERATION AND NON CO-OPERATION

In view of the fact that the Lokamanya's view regarding the boycott of Councils has been so very much misunderstood and misrepresented it may not be out of place here to explain the view clearly. There is no denying the fact that Tilak was emphatically in favour of entering the Councils and of following the policy of 'Responsive Co-operation'. By 'Responsive Co-operation' he meant co-operation on the condition that the Bureaucracy yielded to the demands of the elected representatives of the people on matters of principle. If the Bureaucracy did not there should be no co-operation but constitutional obstruction. It is hardly necessary to point out that this policy, if followed steadily and

persistently, would involve a series of conflicts between the Bureaucracy and the elected representatives of the people—conflicts which must culminate inevitably in a crisis which would necessitate either a fresh step towards Self-government or backwards to autocracy, the latter being less probable than the former. Any way, Tilak wanted to use the Reformed Councils as planks for greater agitation and fight. He was of opinion that boycott of the Council by the Nationalists was nothing short of political *hari-kari*; for, the abstention of the Nationalists would pave the way for the pro-Government parties to get into the Councils. The Councils would never be empty; boycott of them by Nationalists would not paralyse the administration. On the other hand, the bureaucracy would feel extremely glad that the Nationalists had stood away, and carry on the administration as smoothly as before. Much is made of the Lokamanya's promise to Mr. Shaukat Ali that, if the Muslims did not enter the Councils, the Hindus would stand by them. He never believed that the Muslim seats would be kept empty; but if, as a result of their resentment at the Premier's breach of faith, not even one Muslim went into the Council it was, undoubt-

edly, the duty of the Hindus to stand by their brothers. But fortunately or unfortunately, candidates for the Muslim seats were as numerous as for other seats—a fact which meant that boycott of Councils would not only not lead to the object aimed at, namely, weakening of Governmental authority, but actually give undue advantage to the forces of reaction. Tilak was emphatically against such a palpably preposterous idea.

THE END

Tilak was the recipient of a number of congratulatory addresses on the 23rd July, 1920, his 64th birthday. A few days hence he was laid up with fever. From the night of 26th July the fever became more serious and caused great anxiety in the country. On Wednesday he became delirious and spoke many things. 'I am not going to die for five years, be sure of that,' he said to those who asked him to give instructions as to the future. He frequently repeated the verse in the *Gita* which says 'Whenever virtue subsides and vice prevails I come down to protect the good, to destroy the wicked and to establish *Dharma*.' Sometimes he cried, referring to the Calcutta Special Congress, 'Has the special been arranged? Have you wired to Mr. Patel?' ..

“Five-hundred rupees to the editor, plus motor-allowance ! what will these lord-lings do for the country ?” . “1818, 1818—1918—one hundred years—what a life of servitude !” The last words uttered by him were. “Unless Swaraj is achieved,—India shall not prosper ; it is required for our very existence !” Anxious to know the state of his health, thousands of people thronged round Sirdar Griha Bulletins about his health were published every hour and distributed among the eager enquirers He expired at one o’clock on the night of the 31st July, 1920. Here is a description of the funeral:—“It was one o’clock at midnight All round was peace and calmness There was a little drizzle of rain and men, not knowing the disaster that was to overtake them on the morning of the next day, were having a sound and sweet sleep. But the mysterious power, which rules the world, was wide awake, and stealing a march on the sub-conscious man, carried away one of the most honoured, respected and beloved of the people . (When morning broke, people found that) the vigilant watchman of India’s cause has disappeared from their midst . The news of his death gave a shock to the people , it stunned them , they looked at each other with blank eyes and they knew not what

to do. Never before in the history of Bombay was such a scene of universal grief witnessed. People had begun to flock near Sirdar Ghat from 7 in the morning, and by 8 a.m., there was no room for anybody to go up to catch his last sight. The labourer had left the mill, the Marwari his account book, the Bania his purse and every man and woman was out to see the last of their beloved leader. Musalmans, Parsis, Christians deserted their homes to pay their respects to a man who had sacrificed his all on the altar of the country and suffered heavily for bravely defending her cause. In his life time Mr. Tilak was the recipient of many popular demonstrations of good will but the triumphal march of dead Tilak through the streets Bombay on August 1st 1920 was more magnificent than any during his life time. The body of Lokamanya Tilak was brought out and put on the balcony so that it could be witnessed by the eager and expectant crowds. The crowd increased at every moment and it grew so overwhelming that although the funeral procession was timed to start at 1 p.m. it could not be started till 2 p.m. The procession was about a mile and a half and at a very conservative estimate about two lakhs of men took part in it. In the funeral

procession were seen Mr Gandhi, Mr. Shaukat Ali, Dr Kitchlew, Mr. Jamnadas, Mr. Banker and many other prominent citizens of Bombay. Two special trains from Poona brought hundreds of Mr. Tilak's friends and devoted followers. They claimed that Mr Tilak's body should be cremated at Poona. The people of Bombay insisted on keeping the honour to their own city and in the end they won and cremated him, by special arrangements, on the sands of the Back Bay. His body was seated in palanquin and the pallbearers included Mr Gandhi, Mr Shaukat Ali, Dr Kitchlew and many others. On the route, the procession had to stop at innumerable places, because a number of people came out to offer flowers. At every step, most enthusiastic ovations were received . . . The body was gently placed on a pyre of sandalwood so lovingly and liberally supplied by the Parsi traders, and at the Sun dawn, the last earthly remains of the Son of Maharashtra were reduced to ashes."

TILAK, THE SCHOLAR.

Immeasurable as have been the services rendered by Tilak to the cause of the political upheaval of modern India, yet his title to greatness does not rest upon those services

alone. He was among the first to realise the great havoc, intellectually and culturally, that the materialistic education of the West was making upon the youth of India. He was shocked at the manner in which the religion and philosophy, the history and traditions of Ancient India were distorted and misrepresented to Indian youths by the so-called scholars of Europe who possessed neither true learning nor unprejudiced powers of judgment to handle satisfactorily the great subjects that they light heartedly gave their verdict upon. Tilak, it must be remembered lived in days when the pretensions of Europe were at the highest as having scanned all the mysteries of Nature and as having thoroughly probed all the past history of man. Western orientalisks accordingly claimed to have "scientifically scrutinised the entire literature of ancient India—religious, philosophic historic literary. The Vedas for instance, they declared as the babblings of an infant humanity. Tilak's reverence and love for Indian culture were rudely hurt, and while most of his lesser countrymen bowed their heads before the pretensions conclusions of the so-called *Savants* Tilak's independence of thought led him to enquire how far those conclusions were

well-founded. Luckily, he possessed a depth of learning and a quickness of intuition eminently qualifying him for original research. But the life of untiring service to the motherland against tremendous odds, to which Tilak dedicated himself left him but little leisure for literary or historic enquiries. His two periods of incarceration—unjust and tyrannical as they were—enforced upon him, however, a cessation of political activities which he nobly spent in research work; and the monumental works we have from his pen—the *Orion*, *Arctic Home of the Vedas* and *Gita Rahasya*—constitute a very rich and enduring contribution to our literature. They have evoked the homage of the entire world of scholars. Unsurpassed, indeed, whether as patriot, scholar, political fighter or statesman, Bal Gangadhar Tilak remains to all succeeding generations as the noblest product of Modern India. May his great example inspire his countrymen in the arduous struggle that lies before them in securing for India politically, economically and culturally, her rightful place among the nations of the world, to secure which, indeed, the hero of modern Maharashtra dedicated his entire life on earth!

APPENDIX A.
PRESS, OPINIONS.

Bombay Chronicle, 3rd August 1920.

THE LOKMANYA.

"Home Rule is my birthright and I will have it

"In spite of the verdict of the Jury I maintain that I am innocent. There are higher powers that rule the destiny of things, and it may be the will of Providence that the cause which I represent may prosper more by my suffering than by my remaining free."

B. G. TILAK

Mr. Tilak is dead. The tragedy of the event is too deep for words as well as tears. The loss which this Presidency in particular and the country generally have suffered by his unexpected death is so immense that one cannot help feeling the utter inadequacy of conventional phrases to express it fully. In fact it is impossible to-day to measure the magnitude and fulness of the loss. The time, indeed, is not yet. The sorrow is too fresh, the shock

to our public life too sudden to enable any one to envisage in proper and complete perspective the inspirations, the achievements and even the failures which made up the life work of the great patriot whose death we mourn to-day. The realisation of all that he did all that he suffered for his country will come to us in increasingly just measure in the years to come when in carrying on the work to which he gave a life's devotion we miss his guiding presence, and all that it meant to us—the steadfastness of purpose the inflexible will the practical sense and above all the cheerful and unostentatious readiness when necessary to accept sacrifice and suffering in the pursuit of the country's good—which distinguished him. For the moment the overpowering emotion is one of poignant grief. The mind refuses to believe that he is no more with us whom most of us learned to recognise as a giant among his fellows—for since the death of Pherozeshah Mehta and Gokhale he bore on his shoulders the burden of a responsibility which no one we feel can now bear with the confidence of a great man who is worthy of great things. The responsibility is the responsibility of guiding the policy of the Congress the free parliament of the people and the cause for which the Congress stands. We must now do without him.

He was the embodiment of the determination of the people to be self governing and self respecting

and his life-work symbolised the struggles of the country to realise its will. And in his death each one of his countrymen feels the loss of some part of himself. No one who witnessed the scenes that were enacted in Bombay yesterday—the touching tribute of thousands of men and women of all sorts and conditions to the last remains of the departed “Lokmanya,” a tribute unparalleled, at least in the history of modern India—could have failed to realise the hold which he had on his countrymen. What was the secret of this hold? His personality. And what was the secret of his personality? It was the *will* to persist along a direct and single-minded course—the will to go forward, with life in one hand and reputation in the other, and both hands wide open—this was the secret that gave the personality of Bal Gangadhar Tilak its miraculous power. He had many other gifts of intellect and character. As a lawyer he might have won wealth and distinction for himself. As a scholar he won for himself world-wide renown. But law he discarded and to learning he devoted the few hours that he could snatch from a life of ceaseless political activity—and the years of compulsory retirement in prison to which the bureaucracy, tenacious of its powers and fearful of the coming doom, always sought to send, and twice succeeded in sending, him. His life-purpose was altogether different. It was to see his country come into her lost heritage. To this end he endeavoured with courage, devotion and loyalty that

knows no cost. To be great, said Emerson was to be misunderstood. Mr Tilak was a much misunderstood man as he was perhaps the most abused man in our day. Perhaps for part of the misunderstanding he himself was responsible and not a little of it was due to the fact that he was in the fullest sense of the word a born leader of the people of Maharashtra and shared some of their distinctive failings as well as all their characteristic virtues. His attitude towards social reform is also largely explained by the same fact. But it was principally determined by a conviction that the paramount need of India was political emancipation. Perhaps he succumbed to the constant temptation of a popular leader to give the people what they want. But in criticising his attitude it is well to remember that his sometime reactionary views on social reform and actual opposition to some measures of necessary social legislation were determined not by an intellectual conviction of their wrong but by a perception of their inexpediency and of the consequent reaction on the work of political emancipation. That India should be self governing and that the people should regain their lost heritage of a self respecting and independent life—without any avoidable delay—was the guiding motive of his life work. A man according to Ibsen is no man at all until he knows what he stands for and until he has decided that in the pursuit of his object everything must be swept aside. Mr Tilak knew what he stood for

He wanted India to be free—and to be free as soon as possible. For he realised that an unfree country is like a perpetually diseased man who is useless to himself and a nuisance to others. He knew that political agitation could not succeed until it was a mass movement. Therefore, it could not be divorced from the great mass of the nation nor be deprived of its potency by being divided into conflicting factions consequent on a premature association of it with the social reform movement. It is futile to discuss whether Mr. Tilak was right or wrong. In the first place it must be acknowledged that he never put himself forward as a social reformer and, secondly, it is idle to ignore the conditions of things as they exist in India. He was the pioneer of Indian political liberty. Nothing else mattered to him.

His main title to the gratitude of his countrymen—and of generations yet unborn—consisted in this that, by his work and by his suffering, he made them realize that for a subject nation there is nothing else to do but to struggle to be free, that political freedom not being an end itself need not be achieved by *gradual* processes, but must be secured now and at once. For, he realised as few of his countrymen did, that political liberty is the key that unlocks the gates of all progress—social, cultural, and material. And realising this he set himself to the task of creating in his countrymen the will to be free and the will to put forth efforts and sacrifices to win

freedom Few struggled so courageously and so unceasingly for that freedom for his country as he, and no one suffered as he did And now when the views for the acceptance of which he endured obliquity and suffering have become the common places of the political creed of his countrymen and the goal if not attained is in sight—he is gone And he is taken away from us when we needed him most and his keen practical sense to guide us at the most critical moment of our country's history He is gone! But if we are true to his memory let us not lose heart for he would not have had it so He did not want to die For he wanted to live in order to be up and doing He has not lived in vain Let us, in gratitude for the gift of that life hold fast to its lesson What is that lesson? Action action action And again sacrifice sacrifice sacrifice for the Motherland Let us follow his example—and work and sacrifice until we attain the goal How soon we do so depends entirely on us The responsibility that he alone bore was so immense that those who are left to carry on the great work must redouble their efforts and be ready to accept increasing sacrifices and above all must not slip in vigilance lest the cause be betrayed ever so little No He is not dead For who that has seen the thousands who flocked yesterday to pay their last homage to his remains will say that his spirit is not living?

A SERMON ON SACRIFICE.

The Independent.

Essentially a man of action, Lokmanya Tilak considered it the duty ordained by God on everyone to work for, and liberate, the Motherland. Well might his life be called an illustration of the truism: *Janani Janma bhumishcha Swargadapi gariyasi*—the Mother and the Motherland are more glorious than Heaven itself. Indeed the life of Lokmanya Tilak was a sermon on sacrifice in the service of the Mother. And in spite of advancing years and infirmities which were gathering on him, he was as buoyant and resolute as a young man. The zest and virility of youth marked his work until the last. None understood the youths of his country better; none entered into their inmost thoughts quicker. The affection of the young generation of Indians for the Lokmanya cannot be expressed in words. And Tilak always liked to feel that he was one of them. To free his Mother-country from foreign serfdom was a passion of his soul. None so single-minded in his incorruptible devotion to the last, to the cause of his country as he.

Tilak's passing away is more than a public calamity. We have lost in him a true friend and leader of men. Indeed the beacon-light is quenched in smoke. The Maharashtra lies plunged to-day in darkness and in sorrow while the whole

country deeply mourns the loss of the greatest leader of the Nationalist movement. But why bewail! Tears never yet supplied a man's want much less a nation's. Tilak never encouraged his countrymen to indulge in the luxury of lamentations. And our only consolation is that though the Lokmanya has passed away his soul being immortal will live in our minds and stimulate us to nobler and braver efforts until the Motherland is crowned with the crown of Swaraj. And if what the poet says is true —

Alike are life and death
When life in death survives
And the uninterrupted breath
Inspires a thousand lives

IN MEMORIAM

The passage that we have italicised above sums up in itself the spirit and conviction of the soul which has shaken off its mortal coil. The ends of Nations like those of individuals are shaped by Providence, rough-hew them how ye may. And when the Lord builds the House or helps in its building, vain indeed for men dressed in little brief authority to try to demolish it. One of the greatest among the modern political personalities, Lokamanya Tilak persevered in his National work undismayed by the mundane powers and all their prowess, because he saw the vision of the Great One who was guiding him through all trials and tribulations. "I am innocent" was his feeling to which he gave expression in the straightest and simplest of language when he was doomed to a life of incarceration, cut off from those near and dear to him, separated from the cause for which his life was a thing dedicated. Frail man with all his passion and prejudice cannot be a judge of a fellowman's action when he cannot appreciate the motives that underlie it, the spirit that inspires it and the divine fire that sustains it. Indeed Bal Gangadhar Tilak received his inspiration from above and marched forward in "divine affection bold." He felt that the actual experience of calamity was less fearful than a prospective view of it. Difficulties never look so formidable as when we allow them to fill the mind and the life of Lokamanya Tilak has taught alike his non-Indian adversaries who obstructed him and his own faint-

hearted contemporaries that the worst of obstacles quail before a resolute will. Tilak had a will which was adamantine. He had the courage of Abhimaanyu of old determined to fight to the last though the odds were tremendous and unscrupulous. He had the patience of a Prahalada to bear all distress all painful circumstance all physical discomfort and mental affliction. Boundless was his faith in the cause for which he fought in good report and in evil report. Even in the darkest hour of storm and stress he never lost heart never wavered ever stuck to his guns not in despondency and despair but with faith that moves mountains and with hope.

That scorns of fate its fate to ask
But is it self its own sure destiny

policy of a wide-awake public. His doctrines were endorsed by one and all, while the principles of his life served as the foundation, as it were, of the Home Rule movement which had drawn into it the masses of the people as it had never done before.

It is generally not given to man to see his labours bearing fruit in his lifetime. But Bal Gangadhar Tilak could at least feel happy in the evening of his life that the efforts that he had put forth in the cause of the Mother had not gone in vain—though they had not quite begun to bear immense fruit. A *bhakta* of Sri Krishna, he did not work in the hope of reaping the fruit of his own labour. You have only the right to work, but not for the fruit thereof, says Sri Krishna in the *Bhagawat Gita*. Tilak recognised this. He not only lived up to this teaching himself, but he always held it up before his followers as the right ideal. “You should not however presume,” said he, “that you have to toil that you yourself might reap the fruit of your labours. That cannot always be the case. Let us try our utmost and leave the generations to come to enjoy the fruit. . . . It is only given to us to toil and to work. And so, there ought to be no relaxation in our efforts, lest we incur the curse of those who come after us. Action alone must be our guiding principle, action disinterested and well-thought-out.”

None understood the youths of his country better; none entered into their inmost thoughts

quicker. The affection of the young generation of Indians for the Lokamanya cannot be expressed in words. And Tilak always liked to feel that he was one of them.

I am young in spirit though old in body. I do not wish to lose this privilege of youth. To deny the growing capacity to my thinking power is to admit that I have no right to speak on this resolution. said the Lokamanya while moving the Home Rule resolution at the Nasik Conference in 1917. Whatever I am going to speak to-day is eternally young, he added. The body might grow old decrepit and it might perish but the soul is immortal. If one body is worn out the soul will take another so assures the Gita. So long as it is awake in me I am not old. No weapon can cut this spirit no fire can burn it no water can wet it; no wind can dry it.

thought of the literary world were the result of his exertion in jail, when he was cut away from his public activity. However, his massive and keen intellect remained undimmed to the very last and his valuable contributions to world-thought will live as long as philosophy and knowledge are not banished from the son of man.

Both as a writer and speaker, Tilak was tremendously impressive. He had not in him the fervid emotionalism of the Bengali orator or writer, but he had in him a personality representing in himself the Will of the People. His listeners were made to feel that there was tempered steel within the frayed and battered sheath and his spirit was unquenched, his will was firm and his wit keen and biting

The Independent,
3rd August 1920

BAL GANGADHAR TILAK.

Mr Gokhale has told us in a memorable speech that the generation of Indians to which he belonged must serve their country by their failures, by work the fruition whereof they were not destined to see. This summed up in modern language the teachings of the Lord as delivered unto Arjuna in the field of

Kurukshetra / Bal Gangadhar Tilak lived this life in a pre eminent degree, and in his *Gita Rahasya* he called on his countrymen to realise in their lives this life of the ideal warrior of India

1 But it is not of this side of Tilak's life that we can speak to-day. Men are we and under the blow that his departure from the field of his mundane activities has inflicted on us we find it impossible to cultivate this philosophic mood. To-day we can only think of Bal Gangadhar Tilak as the Man of Sorrows in recent Indian history who has served his country not by failures—as to the appraisal of which we have to rely on the Higher Powers that rule the destiny of men and things—but by his sufferings. We can only review before our minds eyes the forty five years of his dedicated life every thought of which was directed to the bringing nearer of the day when his Motherland would stand before the world as an equal among equals the Eternal Witness to the imminence of the Divine in the Human. We to-day think of the Maharashtra youth dowered with some of the choicest of God's gifts—turning away from the activities that bring happiness as the world understands it and take up the burden which meant pain and sorrow and denial of the sweetness of human relations. Maharashtra young men therefore have been and will be by the hundred and thousands have lived in imagination in the glorious days of Bharata and the Mahabharata.

who have felt their blood tingle and their hearts burst at things that were and things that are. But who among them chose the path that Gangadharrao did and trod over it with that steadfastness and unflinchingness, passing through the gloom of the prison and the day-to-day terrorism of the alien. Mahratta youngmen there have been by the scores who dreamt the dreams that Gangadharrao did, who walked with him the same path but like the other Pandava brothers fell off one by one stricken by weakness before they have seen the journey's end. But to this Man, among all others, during the long period of Britain's Imperial sway in India, was entrusted the task to smile away the frowns of Power and the calumnies of the enslaved, and yet march forward erect and unbending. And it behoves our countrymen to enquire why could not this Man bend just a little, just make a little compromise and be hailed and commended as a statesman among Indians? Why could not this Man, so intelligent, so farsighted, make this concession to the pregnant wrong that sat on the bosom of his country? Friends and foes have judged him—friends have praised him, foes have condemned him. But how many have understood and appreciated the superb courage of the Man, his sturdy masters have left us. But his countrymen who have admired this courage, now that he is gone afar off these struggles, can, so soon after losing him, only think of his sorrows and

weep over them To-day we join our tears with his family For Gangadharrao by right divine be longed as much to us as to them May the Nation's tears find solace for them !

The Independent

August 4 1920

TILAK'S WORK CONTINUES

Though Lokamanya Tilak is gone his work continues and will continue. His energy his unbending determination and his persistent campaign of political agitation have sent a new spirit beating in every town and hamlet from one end of the country to the other The Lokamanya brought home to us that the wildest of obsessions and obstacles pale into nothingness before a will a purpose which bears the stamp of conviction a puissant resolve before which even the most terrific powers tremble The Bureaucracy in India being built on force first and last the Lokamanya with his spiritual force defied it with such sternness that the Bureaucrats had to turn against him and to use all the weapons in their armory to make him bend The one thing that the Lokamanya did not know was how to let it If he had to let it down the only way was to break him He could not

broken? He was removed to Jail more than once; he was kept in the solitude of prison-life. But it seemed that the thoughts that he thought by himself—away from his friends, away from the seething whirlpool of agitation—permeated the atmosphere of his Motherland, and when he returned from Jail, what did he see but an India animated with his stern purposefulness, his deliberation and his will? Indeed as has been truly said he became a part of India. He became its life and soul. And though his body has perished, his work cannot die. His spirit liberated from the prison bars of his body, will now flutter over the land, choosing from out of the crowd the needed worker, the true captain of the new movement he brought into existence. He lives stronger, greater and more puissant than ever, adding strength, more strength, and still more strength to the workers in the cause. And we want workers, more workers, for if there have been tiny rivulets in the past mighty deluges are coming and none can resist. The nation requires a spirit to guide them from on high, and truly the Lokamanya has shook off his mortal coil only to stand by the Master of Destinies to mould the Fate and future of this Nation.

Lokamanya's life was crowded thick with events each of which had a moral of its own. The spirit that he breathed, the fearlessness, the defiance of a most astute and a most ruthless organisation

with the help of which more than one fifth of the world's population have been kept down no worker in the vineyard of the Mother can miss these in the life of the leader. An ambition to make life an offering at her altar a desire to see all life elevated on all sides to remove misery to create an unyielding and uncompromising will in the face of difficulties, however formidable these are indispensable virtues in all workers who seek to serve the cause of India's emancipation and elevation in the family of nations for their own progress and enlightenment. The European nations to-day need more than they ever did before the Indian influence. Indian ideals and Indian spirituality alone can bring them solace. These alone can save them from the materialism that is swallowing them up. But India cannot think of her place in the world's march so long as her national soul is not liberated that it may pour forth a serene lustre over the world.

for the nation, India was his home and every Indian his brother and sister. His wide knowledge of India's past only deepened his anxiety to make her future great. By spending his money, his talents, his energy, by his sacrifices and sufferings he impressed on the minds of his countrymen the supreme need of the hour, the great good that a virile nation like ours can accomplish, and how best to work to attain the goal.

Though the voice of the Lokamanya is hushed in the stillness of death, his life-mission and life-endeavour are eloquent; their meaning cannot be missed by those who will enter the arena to carry on the work. A life so rarely and richly endowed as was the Lokamanya's, a will unbending and unbendable, a personality that knew no rest and realised daily, hourly, every passing minute and second the great national responsibility is bound to dwell for ever in the hearts and minds of men inspiring them to greater and nobler action.

The Independent.

BAL GANGADHAR TILAK.

It was an imposing procession which wended its way on Sunday morning to holy Tribeni where the last physical remains of Lokamanya Tilak were deposited. On the bosom of Ganga, Jumuna and

Saraswati rest the ashes of the Lokamanya making the waters yet more consecrate for one who dies in the place of the Mother is indeed a part of Her knowing Whom all is known as our Vedas say Every man woman and child in this our ancient city felt the passing away of the one who was the most beloved of us all whose life was an offering at the altar of the Mother the like of whom we do not meet more than perhaps once in a century His earthly remains have mingled with the holy waters.

now that the chemicals have been well put together. The Lokamanya, a Bhakta of Sri Krishna, believed in the Lord's saying. "Yours is only the right to work but not to the fruits hereof." And in that spirit he has wrought as few could or did and he did not work in vain. Patriots may rise and fall by the thousands; leaders may come and go, but it is very seldom that we come across a personality like Lokamanya Tilak embodying in himself the will of the people. A true representative of a great nation, inheritors of an ancient civilisation, but made weak by time and fate, he taught us by his life-example, his life-endeavour,—which was, is, and will be, the purest sermon on the service of the Mother—to be strong in will, to strive, to seek, to find and not to yield. Though Tilak and his earthly remains have at last departed from this world, his memory—a dear and sacred memory—will remain always with us. It is difficult for us to imagine that Tilak has left us,—the fighter, the worker, the worshipper. It is hard indeed to imagine that we shall hear no more his mellow words of inspiration and of wisdom. But it is sadly true that when we required his guidance most, a merciful Providence has removed him from our midst. What is left to us is his memory. And let us daily cherish the memory of the great departed and learn to employ ourselves usefully in the service of the nation. The great *Karmayogin* that he was, he has shown us that life is not a grovelling thing to be shuffled through as we

We described Mr. Tilak as the mightiest of the sons of India when noticing in the columns the other day the news of the illness. And mightiest he was. For over a quarter of a century he had enjoyed an amount of popularity which it has not been the lot of any other Indian to enjoy. From the Himalayas to the Cape Comorin in every Indian home his name was pronounced with the deepest veneration. High and low, all bowed to his greatness and regarded him as a divine man. And divine he was. Where in India is there another man who comes up to the ideal of the *Rishis* of old like Tilak, whose spotless character, indomitable courage, simplicity of habits and self-abnegation evoked the admiration of friends and foes alike?

An ideal national leader has perhaps not yet been born in India. But Mr. Tilak approached that ideal more than any of his countrymen. He was not only the leader of the educated few, as most of our leaders are, but of the masses as well. In his own province, the masses regarded him as one of their own. They fought for him, they were prepared to lay down their lives for him. His popularity with them may be gauged from the fact that though the Maharastra is perhaps the poorest province in India it raised in the course of a few days three lakhs of rupees to meet the expenses of Mr. Tilak's appeal in the Valentine Chirol Case.

But it was not only in the Maharastra that Tilak was the idol of the masses. Those who

imprisonment for eighteen months. Though he was advanced in years then, his spirit was unbroken and on his release he was again at the service of the country. In 1908 he was again prosecuted for sedition and sentenced to six years' transportation by the verdict of a jury which consisted of seven Europeans and two Indians, the latter disagreeing with the majority, the Indian Judge agreeing with them. Mr. Tilak served out the full term and when he was released he was nearly sixty. Broken in health, suffering from a serious domestic bereavement, any other man would have retired and would have been justified in doing so in the full consciousness of having done his duty and would have been remembered as the greatest hero of modern India by a grateful nation. But the one great feature of Mr. Tilak's character was that he was never elated by popular applause and treated the outbursts of popular enthusiasm with indifference and tolerated them simply to avoid causing pain to his admirers. His health was broken but his spirit was as strong and buoyant as ever. He had dedicated himself wholly and entirely to the service of the country, and was determined not to desist from doing that service till his last breath. He would not lie on his oars because he was at the zenith of popularity. Till his fatal illness he was as busy in the affairs of the country as the most youthful and active among us.

His life has been one of long and unstinted service to the country. He recked not persecution

He did not care for his failing health in rendering
 service. He has died in harness. When we look around
 us our heart is filled with deep grief and despair because
 we find no one who could fill up the void caused
 by the demise of Lokitanya Tilak.

The Varanasi Bazar Patrika

extraneous qualities. Mr. Tilak's achievements were indeed great. As a scholar, as a political philosopher, as a work-a-day politician, he had very few equals. It may be said of him, as of few men in this world, that he was an all-round genius. None among the politicians in our day can boast of his international reputation as a research scholar. His "Orion" and "The Arctic Home in the Vedas" have ranked him among the foremost contributors to human knowledge. As a mathematician, as a Sanskritist, as a geologist he could hold his own against any one. None of our political leaders could approach him in the vast knowledge he possessed in each of these branches of knowledge. Babu Arabinda Ghosh has spoken of Mr. Tilak that he could have easily attained the highest position in any department of knowledge. His keen intellect would have secured for him a position of the highest eminence in the legal profession if he had chosen to adopt this calling. The defence of his own case, when he was charged with sedition for the second time, has been acknowledged as one of the finest efforts of forensic talent. But he deliberately chose not to pursue any of these advocations which would have brought him fame, wealth and an easy, comfortable life. He was a poor man and had a large family to maintain. But he chose the stormy, and in this land the highly risky, work of service to the country.

Here we get a glimpse of the heart of Tilak. He dedicated himself wholly and entirely to the service of the motherland expecting no earthly reward. Like the great Shivaji whose festival he revived he had only one ambition in his life and that was to raise his depressed motherland to a position of honour and glory. This object he steadily kept in view all through his stormy life persecution and calumny notwithstanding. Temptation, the siren call of which has led astray some of our most eminent public men was not able to move him an inch from his life long allegiance to the motherland. In his prison homes and outside he had heard its call but he remained as firm as rock. It was this golden heart tested by the fire of persecution and the dissolving influence of allurements which have won for Mr. Tilak the enduring admiration and gratitude of his countrymen. That mighty heart true and pure has now ceased to beat and all India is now in deep mourning.

In an atmosphere polluted with the smell of rank vegetation the birth and bloom of a sweet scented flower is almost impossible. So also in a dependent country the birth and growth of a genuine patriot is something like an aberration. The atmosphere of freedom which makes possible the healthy growth of public life is wanting here. On all sides one sees the visible marks of degradation brought on by indifference persecution or allurements. Service to the country here is either

treated with indifference or something worse. The only service recognised and rewarded is in most cases disservice to the country. It is no wonder therefore that we have very seldom the genuine type of the patriot, but often get its base imitation or flunkys and sycophants. A Tilak or a Gandhi is an aberration to such a country. Once in a century we may have one like them.

Mr. Tilak is recognised as the greatest nation-builder of modern India. His immense popularity in all the Indian provinces made it possible for him to weld together, more successfully than any other man, the various races and nationalities in India into one homogeneous nation. It was not so much on the Congress platform that Mr. Tilak's work was remarkable. His predecessors and some of his contemporaries have also done much to bring together on a common platform the educated classes of the various provinces in India. But the work which distinguishes Mr. Tilak from all his countrymen is his welding together the masses and the classes into the realisation of a common national consciousness.

He was virtually the only mass leader in India. Nothing shows his greatness more than this fact because it is well-known that the instrument sufficient to round the classes often fails to make any impression on the masses. Fine historical speeches, which have such a charm for the educated Indian, are often lost on the ignorant villager. It was not

by his speeches so much that Mr Tilak was able to re-act the masses and draw them in indissoluble bond of affection to him but by his solid work, his personal service humbly rendered to them. Whether in the plague stricken Poona or Bombay or among the sick delegates in the Congress Camp Mr Tilak's personal service was always placed at the disposal of the sufferer. When the plague was devastating Poona and the plague regulations were creating greater terror friend forsook friend relation near and dear ones. But Mr Tilak travelled from house to house personally attending to the plague stricken patients regardless of his own life. How many of our leaders have been able to do this? It is by such service that Mr Tilak endeared himself to the masses. It was for such service that the whole of the Mahratta country was about to rise in revolt for his incarceration and could only be prevailed upon to be peaceful at his earnest appeal. It was such services the tale of which travelled from province to province, that made the name of Tilak a household word in India.

Mr Tilak's earthly existence has come to an end, but his spirit will survive and guide India to the glorious destination he had in view and for which he had lived and suffered. It is said that on his death bed he was heard muttering the immortal couplets in the Gita where Sree Krishna said that he would be born again and again whenever there

would be decay of righteousness and triumph of vice. Let us hope that Tilak may be born again and again till India attains her honoured place amongst the free nations of the world

The Amrita Bazar Patrika.

LOKAMANYA TILAK'S SRADDHA.

Yesterday was the ninth day of Lok. Tilak's death and according to Brahminic rites his *Sraddha* was performed by his sons. But who would say that his sons alone did the last rites for him after what was seen in this city, a scene which was witnessed throughout India? Just at day-break tens of thousands of Hindus, Mahomedans, Christians and persons of other denominations and creeds emerged from the streets, roads, lanes and bye-lanes of Calcutta and proceeded, bare-footed, towards the Ganges for purposes of ablution. It was a moving sight, a sight to elevate the meanest among men. It was not Lok. Tilak's sons who performed his *Sraddha* yesterday, but the whole of India.

In life Lok. Tilak was a nation-builder, death found him a greater nation-builder. The mourning for him can truly be said to be national. The millions who followed his bier represented as strongly the Mahomedan community as the Hindu. His death has been as sorely felt in his own province as

in the rest of India. In life he had worked for the political unity of the various races of India. But what did the function of yesterday essentially a Hindu function disclose? It disclosed that Lok Tilak by his death had accomplished a greater thing than he could do when alive. Tilak in life stood for political unity. Tilak dead has brought into bold relief the spiritual unity of the Indian races. The Hindu ceremony in which the various races of India took part yesterday had nothing in it that was political. It was in no sense a political demonstration as we usually understand it. It was veneration for the dead (*Sraddha*) and nothing else which filled the mind of every man and woman who took part in yesterday's function. The ninth day of purification observed by Brahmans and not even by all Hindus, has ordinarily no significance for a non-Hindu. But the Indian races Hinduised themselves for one day to mark their respect for the departed great Hindu. No less than the universality the spontaneity of this national homage stands out as one of the most wonderful things that have happened in India. And it has to be remembered that it could not be said of Tilak he had no enemy or detractors. These he had in abundance and even among his countrymen. But even his bitterest opponents in the fields of social and political work have not been less moved by his death than his ardent followers. Sardar Griha the house in Bombay where he lived during the last days of his

illness, was thronged day and night with anxious enquirers, some of whom had done their best to ruin him when he was alive. But character has a force all its own and even the rankest of Lok Tilak's enemies could not but acknowledge in their heart of hearts when the great soul was about to depart that there would not soon be another Tilak.

Now that Tilak is on the other side of the grave, his countrymen have realised, as they perhaps never did before, that in him they have lost not merely a Hindu leader or a prominent political figure, whose Home Rule Special train carrying hundreds of his followers would arrive to swamp the Congress, but they have lost in him the genuine and the purest type of patriot, a type which is an aberration in a dependent country. It is the purity of his character, the purity of his motives and his rock-like firmness which was as proof against persecution as of temptation that made Tilak like a "star shining apart" Hence the shadow of gloom which has over-spread the land

Lok Tilak has given up his earthly existence But that his spirit survives and is very much alive was manifest yesterday when all India performed his *Shradha* with a oneness of mind and heart full of reverence which no son could emulate If every cloud has its silver lining, the national sorrow has not been without its lessons The veneration for the departed great is really a homage, a heartfelt

appreciation of the virtues he stood for. The depth of the nation's feeling is really a measure of the patriotic fervour in the nation. May the spirit which Tilak's death has brought forth last long and we will have no cause for despair for the uplift of the nation for which he lived and terribly suffered.

The Amrita Bazar Patrika

A LETTER OF MR. TILAK.

We have referred to the sedition case started against Mr. Tilak in 1897 by the Government of Lord Sandhurst. Mr. Tilak was then a poor man and without resources. His countrymen would have come forward to help him. But there was the fate of the contributors to the Nani Brothers' Defence Fund to warn people of the danger. In fact, detectives were found busy taking down the names of those who were interesting themselves in the Tilak case. It was at this juncture that some of the intimate friends of Mr. Tilak proposed to the latter to have the matter settled by tendering an apology to the all-mighty Government. Mr. Tilak was deeply pained when this proposal was made to him. He wrote a letter to one of these his well-meaning friends, a portion of which is reproduced below which will throw more light on the character of the man than any elaborate biography can do.

“The other side expects me to do what amounts to pleading guilty. I am not prepared to do so. My position among the people entirely depends upon my character, and if I am cowed down by the prosecution,—in the heart of my hearts I know the case for the prosecution is the weakest that was ever placed before a jury—I think, living in Maharashtra is as good as living in the Andamans. On the merits of the case I am confident of success, though I cannot in this letter and in the present state of my health give you all my reasons. I am afraid only of a non-Marathi-knowing jury and not of justice. You as well as I know that we are incapable of nourishing any sinister feeling against British rule, and it is thus impossible for any of us to be convicted of such a charge as sedition. Such risks, however, we must take if we dabble in politics. They are the risks of our profession, and I am prepared to face them. If you all advise, I am prepared to go only so far as this. ‘I don’t think that the articles are seditious, but the advisers of Government think otherwise. I am sorry for it.’ But this will not satisfy the Government. Their object is to humiliate the Poona leaders, and I think in me they will not find a *kutchra* reed as they did in some others. Then you must remember, beyond a certain stage we are all servants of the people. You will be betraying and disappointing them if you show a lamentable want of courage at a critical

time. But above all as an honest and honourable man how can I plead guilty to the charge of entertaining sedition when I had none? If I am convicted the sympathy of my countrymen will support me in my trouble.

The Amrita Bazar Patrika

MAN OF ACTION

Mr Tilak is dead. The sorrowful news must cause a consternation and cast a gloom all over the country for all Indian hearts which contain a spark of patriotism and a glimmering of the truth in regard to the fallen fortunes of India, the death of its most valiant champion in whom was symbolised all that was best and greatest of India's past culture and greatness and the rich fulfilment of its glorious future must cause a heart wrench of no common kind. The telegrams of anxious enquiries touching his health which we have been receiving from numerous persons and places even in Southern India testified to the universal concern which was felt at Mr Tilak's critical condition. That it should have pleased Providence to deprive the country of its most trusted leader at the hour of its greatest need is one of the ironies of fate. Mr Tilak was a name to conjure with throughout India where

Friends and foes alike, bore testimony to the enormous influence, and the magnetism and strength of his personality. Those who remember the ovations that he invariably received wherever he went cannot but be convinced that his was an empire of the heart, that the feelings of affection and reverence with which he was universally regarded were no ephemeral phases, no transient emotions, but embedded deep in the hearts of his countrymen. Specialists in mental surgery may speculate with profit on the causes of his universal popularity. They will discuss how his so-called religious conservatism made him appear to the popular mind as the champion of his religion against the assaults of rival creeds. They will discourse learnedly as to what extent his having suffered persecution at the hands of the authorities contributed to his popularity. It will suffice us to note the fact and emphasise it. There have been strong men before Agamemnon. There have been persons on whom the stupidity of an official has conferred an easy and not too inconvenient martyrdom. These have flashed into popularity, heroes of an hour, and then sunk into well-deserved obscurity. Mr Tilak's position rested on no such insecure foundations. Of persecution he had his fill. But while persecution may make martyrs it cannot make leaders, and certainly not leaders with the unquestioned authority that Mr. Tilak could claim. The motives of other leaders

have been questioned perhaps often unjustly by a too suspicious public. The feeling that a powerful and unscrupulous bureaucracy is always ready to carry division and dissension into the popular camp has often conduced to over suspicious public. Mr Tilak has always stood far beyond the faintest breath of suspicion as to his motives. The cause of the people brought him into contact with many shifting and shiftv fellow workers. He has been lauded to the skies and abused with virulence alternately by a school of politicians who are more intent on securing their position as leaders than on serving the country. He survived both praise and blame. Officialdom pursued him in a vendetta the bitterness of which passed description. That too he survived be can e no amount of persecution could break his unflinching spirit. He emerged from each ordeal with the flame of patriotism burning the brighter. We shall not here enter into the details of his life which will be found in a memoir published elsewhere. It is a little difficult to avoid banal superlatives when talking of a stroke of fate that has cast a gloom all over India nor is it easy to be eloquent when the heart is full. One of those men of whom any country might be proud he was of unique value in the development of Indian nationality. The generation that culminated in the Reform Act is perhaps destined to be the most pregnant in the history of India. It marks the

development of a national consciousness that in its fulness promises to repeat the ancient glories of India's past. In the cultivation of that fragile plant many have laboured but none more assiduously and single-heartedly than Mr Tilak. With him popular agitation was not a stepping-stone to bureaucratic favour, and he was a stern and determined critic of the group which concealed faint heartedness under the cloak of moderation. Action was his duty and the specious fruit, the Dead-Sea apples so temptingly displayed as a bait, left him indifferent. It was in this clarity of vision and uncompromising devotion to his ideals that the bureaucracy found its greatest stumbling-block. Mr Tilak's death leaves a void that would be difficult to fill in days when politics is a scramble for loaves and fishes. Especially will his influence and counsel be missed at the present time when the country is faced with questions of great moment. A mourning country will find some consolation in the fact that if there is any truth in the existence of a kindly Destiny, it will not suffer that a life like that of Mr Tilak should have been lived in vain. As was once said of Napoleon, Mr Tilak was not so much a man as an idea and the idea of lofty patriotism and noble self-sacrifice he represents will, under Providence, endure.

The Hindu.

A GREAT NATIONAL HERO

Lok. Tilak's loss to India to the institutions he founded and developed is too great to be borne easily. The death has inflicted the greatest toll in laying its heavy hand on Lok. Tilak the noblest son of the Motherland. His whole life was consecrated to the service of the country and he sacrificed on the altar of duty everything that can be near and dear to any person. Born in 1856 he completed his university education when he was only 24 years of age. He spurned all thoughts of acquiring wealth, honour and titles along with the worldly happiness they bring with them because he was made of a different stuff. Those were the days of transition and his soul burning with the thought of emancipation of his country found much pleasure in rearing independent educational institutions because he believed education to be the only saviour of India. He founded the New English School, the Fergusson College and the Deccan Education Society of Poona. In 1890 he took over the papers *The Mahratta* and the *Kesari* and there began the great career of the national hero. Within five years he made the Government of the day feel that they had to take into account the selfless fire of patriotism, the fearlessness of a great philosopher and the lionlike attitude of a man of action. He entered the local Legislative Council but soon after he had to fight with the Government on behalf of the

people in the dire days of the plague. His fearless advocacy of the people's cause took him to jail for a year and a half. But jail had no terrors for him. Since 1901 - he led the national movement and carried the gospel of Nationalism to every home and hamlet. In 1908 again he had to suffer for his patriotism and was transported to Burma for six years. Since his return in 1914 he has been in the thickest of the fight and was the foremost of the national leaders. India was in great need of his lead but that was not to be. The fates had ordained otherwise. His intellect, his knowledge, his powers, his selfless devotion need no mention here. This pen is powerless to do justice to them. His work is writ large on the annals of the present history of this hapless land.

Our heart is too full of sorrow to wield the pen further. To the present editor the loss is too great. He had been the light of his life, his political Guru, the living sermon on duty and patriotism. And with a heavy heart and tearful eyes he pays his humble homage to him. Let India remember his message and the days of her salvation are at hand.

The Mahratta.

THE LATE LOKAMANYA BAL GANGADHAR TILAK

The news of the death of Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak which sad event took place on Saturday night at Bombay has plunged the country in profound sorrow. His life looks like a political romance. Though he was the most misunderstood, the most maligned and the most persecuted man by the Government, there is no doubt that his political work for the uplift of the country will occupy a good portion in Indian History of this period when it comes to be written. By the people of the country he has been held in the greatest veneration as can be seen by the honoured title of

Lokamanya conferred on him which means in English Revered by the people. No contemporary of his has led such a stormy life as Mr. Tilak has done and no one has plunged himself into the political whirlpool in all sincerity and in dead earnest so as to be the plaything of every passing wind and of weather and of storm. He was the hero of a hundred battles. His calmness of mind the elasticity of his spirit the tremendous moral force and his unbounded faith in the higher destiny of his country have marvellously carried him through his thorny and eventful life. Through him we have learnt the lesson that public work and political life are serious games involving sacrifice and suffering and misrepresentation and ignominy.

A man of deep erudition, of tireless industry and of originality, a scholar of great repute and culture, one who is uncompromising in his nature, fearing none but his conscience and his God, unshaken in the hours of trial and tribulation, Mr. Tilak has made an indelible mark, and has an abiding place in the history of his country. He always thought that

He's slave who dare not be

In the right with two or three

If there was one who was responsible for the secular religious and political education of the masses, if there was one who had realised the advantages of utilising the vernacular as the medium of political education for the people, it was Mr. Tilak. He had in him that magnetism which drew thousands of his countrymen to his fold, to hear his political gospel and to follow him wherever he went. He never knew what self was, and all that he had both in his brain and in his purse, he gave to his countrymen with a free hand and a free heart. His life had been a life of persecution, and the travesty of justice shown to him in all his trials has given a rude shock to the country at large. It was he who first condemned the policy of mendicancy which the Congress had been pursuing for years past, and it was he who had inaugurated a vigorous and sustained political propaganda, political campaign and political warfare, based upon principles, justice and fairplay, of self-help and self-reliance

A democrat of democrats, while he was loved and revered by millions of his countrymen he was dis-trusted, maligned and persecuted by the bureau-cracy. His name will live long in our memory and will remain a beacon light to succeeding generations while the names of those bureaucrats who had traduced him and who had brought on him untold sufferings will fall into oblivion. The Nationalist party of which he was the accredited founder and leader has risen into prominence more from the sledge hammer strokes of repression aimed at him and his followers. It looks as if the future belongs to the party which represents the people at large who have been politically educated by him by fairs, festivals and melas which appeal most powerfully to the masses in the country. Mr. Tilak's death just at the dawn of a new era in the ushering of which he had a considerable share is nothing short of a national calamity.

The Rangoon Mail

MR. TILAK'S DEATH

A NATIONAL CALAMITY

A prince among men has fallen and the cruel hand of the Stern Keeper has just taken away one of the worthiest sons of India. Our motherland stands really poorer to-day by the death of Balwant Rao Gangadhar Tilak, the profound scholar, the

self-sacrificing patriot and the wise statesman, and the whole country is in deep mourning. The news which has spread like wild-fire has given a shock to the nation from which it would be difficult to recover for a long time to come. The death of Mr. Tilak removes from the ranks of Indian political leaders a personality who had immense hold on the minds of the people and commanded an abiding and undisputed obedience which has scarcely fallen to the lot of any other leader of public opinion in India. He was a tower of strength in the land, a living force that exercised tremendous influence and guided with a vigilant eye all political movements in the country. His name acted as a charm in every creek and corner of the land and roused to action people from their habitual stupor. But Lokamanya Tilak was not only a political genius and his activity was not restricted only to the political field. He was an erudite scholar who had made valuable contributions from his early age; and even at times of great strain and stress, to the domain of literature which will ever retain the stamp of his personality in all its striking characteristics. His researches in Mathematics and Sanskrit won for him a lasting reputation among the servants of the world. His work, "The Arctic Home of the Vedas," is a colossal monument of his genius for research. Mr. Tilak's another work on the Vedas, "Orion," received high praise from Orientalists of eminence.

like Max Muller Jacobus Weber and Whitney Professor Whitney complimented him very highly on an article in the Journal of the American Oriental Society while Dr Bloomfield spoke of his book as the literary sensation of the year One of his latest literary efforts is a voluminous commentary on the *Gita* which is an epoch making work in the field A living example of high thinking and plain living Mr Tilak was a versatile genius capable of holding the helm of affairs of a mighty empire Had he been born in any free country which wields a power to-day in the comity of nations he would have got an opportunity of utilising his great powers as an ambassador or a minister who would have been looked upon with awe and reverence by civilised nations Even in India Bal Gangadhar Tilak was a valuable asset to his country a pillar of the nationality which is coming into being It is natural that the death of such a man would envelop the country under a shadow of great calamity as it could ill spare at this critical time the guidance and support of the trusted tribune of the people If his services were valuable in the past they would have been invaluable at the present moment when the country stands face to face with a mighty change in the realm of constitutional reform By an irony of fate Mr Tilak was never called upon to preside over any session of the Indian National Congress the greatest honour in the gift of his countrymen

This is a matter which will cling to the nation with all the hideousness and pang of a nightmare in future. Who could have better deserved this honour than he who had courted often the wrath of the bureaucracy and had in consequence undergone imprisonment at least thrice? If suffering be the criterion of a leader's sincerity to the cause of his country, who would hesitate to say that Lokmanya Tilak was the greatest of the Indian leaders? A highly spiritualised and god-fearing soul, patriotism rose in him to the height and fervour of religion and he worked for his motherland unseduced by official smile and undeterred by official frown. India has need now more than ever of men of Mr. Tilak's stamp, for as Oliver Wendell Holmes has rightly said —

“ A time like this demands,
Great hearts, strong minds,
True faith, and willing hands:
Men whom the lust of office cannot kill,
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy.
Men who possess opinions and a will.
Men who have honour, men who will not
lie.”

The Express.

THE MESSAGE OF TILAK.

Tilak is not an individual but a cult. Dangerous at Bombay he will be still more so in the Andaman Islands. Such was the observation of the well known English journal the *Saturday Review* when Mr Tilak was sentenced to six years transportation in the second sedition trial. We are not prepared to admit that Mr Tilak was a source of danger to Government or to the public during his life time. This must also be the opinion of every Indian who like ourselves differed in many important points from Mr Tilak's principles or his methods of propaganda. But every one must admit that Mr Tilak wielded the most powerful influence over his countrymen and that his removal from the scene of his labours would not abate by one jot its force. During his six years detention at Mandalay (for the Government had the generosity not to send him to the convict settlement in the dreary island in the Bay of Bengal) the influence of Mr Tilak was felt in every phase of Indian public life. It seemed that an invisible force was directing the onward march of Indian nationalism or that some super natural being was controlling the public life of the country by some process of telepathy. He did not appear in any public platform nor did his contributions appear in his organ. Yet the machine worked by an onseen force made the influence felt in the most striking manner. How can this

extraordinary phenomenon be explained? It was because Tilak, in the phraseology of the *Saturday Review*, "is a cult." His marvellous energy and genius are acknowledged even by the Chowringhee oracle of wisdom who frankly recognised this fact while hurling his disgraceful phillipic against one of the greatest of the Indian leaders within a few hours after he had passed away from the world. When he was sentenced to six years' transportation, there was a feeling of relief mixed with jubilation in certain quarters, but the *Saturday Review* warned those who were glad at the removal of Mr Tilak from the scene of his labours for some years and declared that Tilak "would be more dangerous in the Andaman Islands." Mr Tilak will no longer return to this world, but we warn the Chowringhee oracle not to be so jubilant, for he will be "still more dangerous" in the other world. For his influence will be felt upon the political life of India all times hereafter. His example will stimulate his countrymen who will endeavour to follow in his footsteps. His ideas and principles will mould the thoughts of the nation. The Hindus believe in the immortality of the soul as the Christians do. The words of Lord Krishna in the *Gita* have taught the Hindus that there was no such thing as death or annihilation, but life is eternal. The Hindus celebrate the annual *Sradha* or *tarpana* to keep their connection with the so-called dead who have simply

passed from one phase of immortal life into another just as people throw aside an old for a new suit of clothes. Year after year for all times hereafter the nation will have its annual celebrations in honour of the memory of the illustrious patriot and on such occasions the lessons which he inculcated during his sojourn in this world will be impressed upon future generations of Indians and thus his teachings will exercise the most potent influence upon our national life. Let us then remember that Tilak can never die and gather consolation and strength from the reflection that Tilak is not a name but a cult.

It is therefore certain that the magical influence of Tilak will be a potent force in the history of our nation for all times hereafter. Those who differed from him in his political views will forget the controversies and party differences of the past and reflect upon the grand personality of Tilak with its sublime strength and heroic spirit of self-sacrifice. Mr Tilak was twice convicted of sedition by one of the highest tribunals of the country. There may be differences of opinion regarding the justice and legality of the punishments inflicted upon him. Those are trivial points now when he has gone to his Maker to receive the reward for his life of piety and devotion to the motherland. Even those who supported the convictions and punishments will honour his memory for the fortitude and resignation which he showed in the hour of suffering and trial.

When Mr. Justice Davar passed his sentence, Tilak received it with cheerful resignation, because in his own words his punishment would promote the cause to which he had devoted his life. This is the spirit which made the martyrs of the Church embrace death at the stake with heroic joy for the sake of their faith. Politics to Tilak was his religion. When Gladstone died, Mr. Balfour, in paying a tribute to his genius and services to England, made a significant observation in the House of Commons that the great Liberal statesman applied the teachings of the Christian Scriptures to practical politics. Of Tilak, it may be truly said, that he applied the lessons of unselfish sacrifice embodied in the *Gita* to practical politics in this country. Like Gokhale in a different fashion, he spiritualised politics. Let those of our countrymen, who are now aspiring for seats in the Legislative Councils in the coming elections, remember that if they want to render any useful service to the motherland, they must spiritualise politics as Tilak and Gokhale did. The two Mahratta patriots dealt with political questions from different points of view. Gokhale was a statistician and a master of facts and figures. He tried to solve political problems by a mathematical process. To Tilak, a political question was like a religious or an ethical problem and he appealed to moral sentiment. The one was an exact calculator, the other a mystic and an enthusiast. Gokhale was the leader of the

Anglicised Indians who believed in British constitutional methods. Tilak was more national or oriental in his ideas and therefore his hold upon the masses was greater than that of any other Indian leader.

Tilak was more than a scholar or political leader. He occupied a place higher than that of a patriot for he was a religious teacher. He practised the lessons of the *Gita* in his life. He was imbued with the spirit of the teachings of the Lord. He was a great pillar to the cause of *Sanatan Dharma*. His commentary on the *Bhagavad Gita* will remain an imperishable monument of his genius. Napoleon once observed 'I will go down to posterity with my Code in hand'. The hundred victories of the great conqueror failed to have a lasting influence upon the history of Europe. His empire crumbled to pieces even in his life time and the conqueror and captive of the earth died an exile on a dreary rock in the Atlantic Ocean. But the Code Napoleon is still the basis of legislation in most continental countries and shall remain as such for all times to come. The political activities of Tilak will have a lasting influence upon the history of India and what is still more important his interpretation of the moral teachings of the *Gita* will elevate our national character and strengthen the forces of *Sanatan Dharma* and prove an inestimable blessing to our people. Through all ages the

Hindu nation will bow in homage to the memory of Tilak, the devoted patriot, the heroic martyr and the profound sage. His work has made him immortal. Let us, therefore, wipe away our tears and learn to submit to the decree of Providence with cheerful resignation. To the Chowringhee oracle of wisdom and other people of the same kidney let us repeat the warning conveyed by the *Saturday Review*. Let them not be jubilant at the demise of the great Indian leader for "Tilak is not a name, but a cult" and that "dangerous in Bombay", he will be still more so in immortal life.

The Express.

THE LATE MR TILAK.

It is with deep regret that we record the death of Mr Bal Gangadhar Tilak, one of the greatest, if not the greatest, of our public men, whose loss at this critical time of our national life is simply irreparable. Whenever a public man leaves this world, his loss is generally described as irreparable, but in the case of Mr Tilak, the use of the word is not at all conventional. The loss that the country has sustained by the death of this selfless patriot, whose devotion to the cause of his motherland was unparalleled in modern times, is absolutely irreparable. True it is that no individual, however great, is

indispensable in this world. God's work as a whole cannot be retarded by the loss of any individual but we think, in a sphere narrower than the world individuals of a certain type sometimes become absolutely necessary and such an individual was the late Mr. Tilak. His selflessness, his devotion to the cause of his motherland, his sacrifices and sufferings for his country, his amiability and above all his sterling character did so much endear him to his fellow countrymen that his death has cast a gloom throughout the length and breadth of this vast continent. His loss is not only national but is considered to be personal by all those who came in contact with him or even only saw him. It is extremely unfortunate that he has been snatched away from this world at a time when his advice and his services are sorely needed by the country. He was the one man in India who could look at things with the eye of a seer and formulate his policy and chalk out a line of action accordingly. Mr. Tilak had a great ideal before him but he was not an idealist. He was a practical man, a great worker and thus a successful public man. He was an enemy of the bureaucratic system of government existing in the country. He understood that the salvation of India depended on a change of the form of government and on the establishment of Home Rule in the place of the existing Autocracy. So the bureaucrats as a class as self preservation is

instinctive, were up in arms against him and he was prosecuted for sedition twice, once in 1897 when he was convicted and sentenced to eighteen months' rigorous imprisonment, and the second time in 1908, when he was sentenced to six years' transportation. The first time the prosecution would have withdrawn the case, if Mr. Tilak tendered an apology. But Mr Tilak was not a man to apologise and save his skin, when he believed that he was not in the wrong. His spirit was indomitable and he maintained that spirit till the last day of his life, inspite of the long terms of imprisonment he had to undergo.

Mr Tilak was not only a great patriot and politician, but an eminent scholar also. We are not, however, much concerned about his scholarship. Scholars we have in abundance, but what the country needs most of all at the present moment is men who can sacrifice themselves in the cause of their down-trodden motherland—men who can feel for their fellow-countrymen as much as one feels for his own kith and kin—men whose heart breaks at the sight of their famished and half-famished brethren and who become restless in order to devise means for the amelioration of their miserable condition. Such a man was Mr Tilak. We are grieved that he is dead, but he will be yet living for ever, if his fellow-countrymen only learn to emulate his life and character. All demonstrations at his death will

be meaningless, if they cannot do this much. If his fellow-countrymen cannot tread on his footsteps it must then be understood that the lessons of his life are lost upon them and however eloquently they may talk of Mr Tilak, they have not been able to appreciate his life and character truly

The Mussalman

IN MEMORIUM

Now is the mighty column broke,
The beacon light is quenched in smoke,
The trumpet voice is hushed still,
The warder is silent on the hill

Such must be the feelings which would be surging in the minds of millions of Indians at the calamitous news of Lokamanya Tilak's death—for indeed Tilak's was a mighty personality which never bended under the weight of life-long persecution which he suffered at the hands of the borean cracy and his call to duty ever in all the vicissitudes of Indian public life acted upon his hundreds of thousands of his countrymen as a maddening trumpet cry to battle. Now that Tilak is removed from the scenes of his activity—alas! it is so difficult even now to realise that he is no more—it is possible for us, to some measure, to appreciate that he was not a mere leader of a party or faction but

that he in his ideals, his method of work, his hopes and aspirations represented a force which for nearly forty years has served to weld together divergent interests in the service of the land and has added momentum to all national activities. Though never a dreamer of dreams, the intensity of his faith and the strength of his conviction invested his activities with such ardour and zest that he appeared to many as a visionary and an idealist. His was a patriotism which sprung directly from the study of his country's ancient literature and the history of his own race. His was not a patriotism which many are not ashamed to confess, as having been due to contact with the civilisation of the West. Hence his orthodoxy which, instead of narrowing his vision, gave to his convictions a power and tenacity which were always the noteworthy features of all his activities, whether political or social. Endowed by Providence with keen intellect and powers of original thinking he might well have been content with the high niche in the temple of scholarship which he had already secured for himself. But his was an intenser nature, his whole manhood stood in revolt against the down-trodden condition of his country. He early dedicated his life to the service of the motherland, and if it can be said of any man that he never wavered either in thought or deed in his fidelity to his country, it can most assuredly be said of Bal Gangadhar Tilak. Starting

life with the light of the unclouded sun he indeed lived to see the shadows lengthening and the storm raging round him. And during all this period of incessant activity he never for one moment faltered in the course pointed out to him by the hand of destiny and the impulse of his passionate nature. Many are tempted on an occasion like this to recount the achievements of a departed hero and it is true that Tilak's achievements are not such as can be counted on fingers ends. A Tilak and a Gandhi are born to fight the big battles of national emancipation. It is left to a Mehta and a Sinha to manoeuvre the successes of the country's cause inside the Council Chamber. Judged in this light Tilak lived to see the fruition of his labours. A Reform Scheme or a Royal Proclamation promising India's destiny over satisfied him. What meant to him more was the resolve of the Indian National Congress to win national freedom. His effort was to rouse the people to a consciousness of their own rights and when this was done, the rest was comparatively smooth sailing. Hence his cry, Home Rule is my birth right and I will have it. His task was national regeneration and who with the general awakening all round dare deny that he has had allotted to him a measure of success, not generally allotted to average men? Yet with a faith embedded deep in the *Gita* Tilak never worked with hope of reward or success. To him the work itself

was its reward and its completion his chief solace. It was in that spirit that he cheerfully underwent suffering. It was again in the same spirit that he shouldered new responsibilities when his sufferings ended. If India is now more aggressive in its insistence on emancipation than it was ever before, it is due to the fact that the *Gita* spirit has re-entered the souls of her sons—it is the nobility of the work that matters and not the chances of its success and failures—and who is more responsible for the birth of this new spirit in our youths to-day than the author of *Gita Rahasya*. To say that Tilak's death in all the plenitude of his powers is a great loss is but to meagrely appraise his worth. His demise removes the fountain-head of Nationalism and is, therefore, a national calamity. Alas! all that now remains for us is to pay a reverent homage to his memory, and pray that though not physically with us yet in his unbounded love for India he may from his place above continue to feed the fountain which at present is in danger of drying up. No doubt his character, his ideal, his example will always remain a national treasure—an inexhaustible reservoir of inspiring patriotism and self-sacrifice as also a reminder of the great and heroic soul that has passed away.

These are deeds which should not pass away

And names that must not wither, though the
Earth

Forgets her empires with a just decay
 The enslaver and the enslaved their death and
 birth

The high the moountain majesty of worth
 Should be and shall, survivor of its woe,
 And from its immortality look forth
 In the Sun's face like yonder Alpine snow
 Imperishably pure beyood all things below

The Searchlight

THE LATE LOKAMANYA

No death within recent years has evoked such universal expression of regret or cast a pall of gloom over all India from Cape Comerio to the Himalayas as that of the Hero-Martyr of Maharashtra. The following pen picture of the Lokamanya by our Bangalore contemporary the *Karnataka* we are sure will be read with much interest by our readers —

One whose name had found a place in history when the present generation was still at school one who had cheerfully gone through the ordeal of the chain when others had yet to learn that patriotism is something more than a fashion one who for forty years filled a unique place in the eyes of his enemies even more than in those of his followers one whose word was law to millions of his countrymen one who whatever his limitations, was without

doubt, one of the greatest men of his country in his time—such a man, Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, breathed his last on Saturday after midnight at Sirdar Griha, Bombay, after about a week's illness. The event—for it is no mere news—has evoked throughout the length and breadth of the land the most impressive demonstrations of grief and feeling of loss that have ever been witnessed. The Anglo-Indian exploiter has lost his most invigorating antagonist, the dominant political party in the country has lost its chief inspirer and guide; the man in the street has lost his shining idol of devotion to the motherland; the nation as a whole has lost one of the highest embodiments of its self-recuperative genius. A profound scholar, a bold historical researcher, an uncompromising political idealist, a shrewd observer of affairs, an adroit controversialist, a sure-footed leader of men, a lion-hearted fighter, Mr. Tilak was so many things to so many men that the void created by his death is truly one that will never again be filled up. Mr. Tilak indeed was among the first three or four of the makers of our epoch. He created the public opinion that he later on stood up to voice forth. It was his personality that galvanised the Maharashtra and fanned the flame of Nationalism there which has served as a beacon-light to the rest of India. He was really a symbol and a miracle, for his was the voice that could alter situations and give a new

direction to events. There was that in him which rendered him a force great enough to be reckoned with by the invincible rulers of our land

Greatness of the very highest kind is of two kinds the dynamic and the conservational or the disturbing and the stabilising. Distinct as the two are they are at the same time supplementary each to the other and act in human history as the motor and the governor act in an engine. One type serves to liberate or energise new social forces the other serves to regulate and consolidate their working. Dante and Milton Byron and Swinburne Carlyle and Shelley Cromwell and Rousseau Mazzini and Tolstoy represent the first type the type that gives a shaking to the torpid social conscience of the time and quickens men's intelligence and aspiration. The other type is represented by Shakespeare and Goethe Wordsworth and Browning Gladstone and Lincoln Burke and Mill. There is really no antagonism between the two orders. Mr. Tilak's whole being had been cast unmistakably in the mould of the first sort. Agitation rather than statesmanship was his God-given vocation. He made it his mission to turn the nation's mind to the contrast between the country's present and its past and between its potentiality and its actuality, and thereby to rouse the dormant energies to self-regenerative effort. To steady the energies so roused to harmonise their operation to endow them with the vision

and the self-restraint without which they may end as mad fury, were the tasks that belonged to gifts of another class. For Mr. Tilak, the supreme task was to disturb the undivine so-called peace that had settled upon the minds of his fellowmen and produce that divine discontent that is the mother of all progressive impulses. Now every great man of this order must appear as the special advocate of some principle or idea. The secret of his success is in exaggeration—in emphasis. Slow, sententious judiciousness in utterance is fatal to his calling. He should be short and sharp, pointed and telling. He may not be able to stand the meticulous cross-examination of historical or statistical critics. But he could reply that normal modes of instruction are for people in a normal condition; and that when there is paralysis in the body politic, there is dire need for drastic, radical remedies. A dispassionate judgment has its use when passion is high and likely to prevail if left unchecked. But where there is no passion whatsoever—not even so much of it as could betoken life, the patriot's first business should be to awaken it, and this cannot be achieved without the application of extra stimuli. Hence the exaggeration or the emphasis that is termed "Extremism" in Mr. Tilak. Such exaggeration is an inborn mannerism with every great reformer. Christ had it, Mazzini had it: Tolstoy had it; and the Rishis, too, had it. A temperance preacher

may for instance state his case in two different ways. He may quote facts and figures and percentages to prove conclusively that alcohol is poisonous and say suggestively that all wise men avoid it as far as possible or he may heighten his tone and declaim. Rum is Devil incarnate. Hate him and kill him. Let not his breath vitiate your sweet homes. It is easy to say which kind of appeal would work quicker on the mind of a multitude. Now Mr Tilak was a master of the psychology of the crowd and with the unerring instinct of a born democrat and true nation builder he addressed himself from the very first to the task of educating the proletariat. He started the first English school in the Maharashtra as also the first independent English journal and the first vernacular journal. He identified himself with every popular cause and actively participated in every popular festival seeking to give it a modern practical turn. He wrote and spoke in the vernacular and encouraged others to do likewise on all occasions. He revived every tradition reminiscent of past national greatness and made it the centre of a vast popular movement. He ransacked the sacred literature of the land and pointed to the inspiring antiquity of the founders of the Vedic culture. He perceived the danger of a narrow interpretation of the people's Bible, the *Bhagavad Gita* and laboured to correct it so as to make it an inspiration for high souled activity and endeavour. In

thought, as well as in form, he was a man made to move the masses. In his idealising of the past, in his glorifying of the indigenous, in his exuberance of attention to the commonalty, and in the concurrent declamations against foreign domination, in the attacks on the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy and in the criticism of the practical aspects of Western civilisation, Mr Tilak showed a vehemence and an aggressiveness that might well have divided opinion even among his own compatriots—according, as we have said, to the fundamental differences in their respective standpoints and purposes. Mr. Tilak's emphasis had necessarily to fall on one side so that that side which was the neglected one—could obtain its due share of attention. He had formed a certain estimate of his own regarding the character and dependability of Western nations; and in accordance therewith he had framed a plan of action for his own countrymen. In that estimate, and in the variations of that plan resulting from changes in the circumstances, there was plenty of scope for honest differences. When cheerful compromise seemed the best policy to others, it seemed best to him to keep up an appearance of unyielding protest. While others would accept small mercies with thankfulness, he would speak despisingly of the grudging gift, not despising, however, to appropriate the small mercies without any thanks. The difference was all one of form, of pose, of artistic skill and

adjustment in politics. Mr Tilak was a consummate impressionist his policy was to magnify the power of the people, to raise them in their own estimate, and to give them the self confidence they need, and on the other hand, to magnify the failings of the foreign bureaucracy to make it fear the coming popular upheaval and thus to make it surrender part of its power as tribute rather than as concession. It was all a matter of stage-effect and no one showed greater prudence and adaptability so that and at the same time strove harder to keep up an aspect of immutability and firmness than did the great countryman of Nana Farnavis. The successive changes in his attitude towards the Montagu Reforms and in regard to Non co-operation forcibly illustrate the view that his policy was to keep the demand at the highest while utilising anything that is given without the ostentation of thanksgiving. Every suffering that he underwent with a heroic fortitude all his own every proof he gave of his unflinching loyalty to his ideals every instance of gubernatorial irritation that resulted in a cruel wrong to him intensified his hold on the popular mind only to the unbonded chagrin and consternation of his enemies. He was, in literal truth the uncrowned king of the Maharashtra, and during the past two years his position was indeed unrivalled among All India leaders. His name is verily a household word throughout India. It is a synonym

for flaming love of country, for stainless devotion to lofty ideals, for hope-inspired readiness to sacrifice all on the altar of the motherland. He died a *kṛita kṛityā*, having had the satisfaction—granted but rarely to mortal men—of seeing that his labour had begun to bear fruit, that his influence had its share in making material for his country's annals and that his teaching and example have found a permanent place in the life of his countrymen. May his memory be ever with us to inspire us and guide us

The Travancorean.

LOKAMANYA.

"All I wish to say is that in spite of the verdict of the jury, I maintain that I am innocent. There are higher powers that rule the destiny of things and it may be the will of Providence that the cause which I represent, may prosper more by my suffering than by my remaining free"—Tilak's Message 9-30 p m., 22-7-1908

'Innocent' and 'Guilty'—What terms these in their application to the leaders of a Nation? Who has the right, who should have the title to proclaim a nation-builder innocent or guilty, except a jury of twelve peers—twelve equals and countrymen of the accused? Who tried and convicted

Monsieur Caillaux? Who tried and acquitted Monsieur (Captain) Dreyfus? Not surely, the Germans in France! And how can we accept the verdict of the Englishman or his nominee officials in India on questions of innocence or guilt in the domain of political uplift? Justice Davar and Justice Chandavarkar may doubtless, be Indians but they were the nominees of those in power and if nothing else they would think and act—as their masters did. That is why Tilak once asked in one of his characteristic epigrams—Are we thieves in our own lands?

When men have not the right to enjoy the bounteous offerings of their motherland when their elementary birth rights of free speech and of free writing and of free association have been restricted when the sons of the soil are excluded from the services nay when the very culture of the country is discounted and her civilisation exposed to ridicule and contempt then truly they are thieves in their own land. Tilak laboured all his life to survive this disability and re-establish this rightful position of his country and his countrymen in the comity of nations. It was for this that he sacrificed a career at the bar and started the Deccan Educational Society. It was for this that he sacrificed his freedom and courted imprisonment. To become a judge of the High Court and from that

exalted and privileged position, to indulge in diatribes and in vilification, was an opportunity that lay within his grasp as much as in the grasp of Davar or Chandavarkar, but which he spurned from the beginning and for ever to utilise. "Love and service" were the text of the late A M Bose's sermon which he preached from the Congress platform in Madras "Love and service and sacrifice" are the text which Tilak acted up to during a whole life-time with a self-imposed rigidity to which you can find a parallel only in *sadhus* and saints "Come unto me and worship me and I shall make you the ruler of this kingdom" were the words in which Satan tempted the "Son of Man" And how often might not such temptations have crossed the path of this heroic soul? But in the midst of temptation and struggle, surrounded by trials and difficulties, he stood clear in judgment, courageous, unfaltering in the steps that shaped his destiny and the destiny of his race

To characterise Tilak as a Patriot is to speak the common parlance of men in this work-a-day world To Bal Gangadhar Tilak, patriotism was a religion embracing and absorbing his whole life It was not a cry of reason that he sought to meet and satisfy, it was the very craving of the soul and the spirit. The motherland stood for him as the symbol and incarnation of the Divine, and her worship was to him the worship of the one God in spirit

and in truth To describe Tilak as a scholar is but to repeat the praise bestowed every day on our Pandits—Eastern and Western Tilak was not merely a scholar but a *Savant* Was he not put down the other day in England as one of the half a dozen greatest intellects of the world? To speak of Tilak as an orator is to limit his magnetic influence with the mass of men to particular achievements. No what the orator does at the sublime moments of his life when he pours forth his soul into the vast congregations that form his audience Tilak was doing week in week out nay every moment of his life. The nation presented him a purse of three lakhs and odd when he was restored to freedom and to work.

The Home Rule organisation in Maharashtra which he started earlier than Mrs. Besant did in Madras had lakhs at its disposal And when Valentine Chirol had to be dealt with suitably the country gave Tilak lakhs again What was the secret of his success? Where were the springs of this munificence this ready response to a leader's needs, this absolute co-operation which was not merely labial but touched the deepest depths of men's purses and pockets? Tilak exercised a magic power over those who knew him and heard him And that magic might was not alone the result of his erudition of his indefatigable industry and limitless energy of his pure morals and perfect manners, of his exalted

sense of self-respect, both individual and National, but of a certain straightness that did not bend before the very kings, of a measure of sincerity which stopped short of nothing but sacrifice, and above all of that utter self-effacement which marks out men as leaders, and Commanders. When he spoke, it was the heart that spoke to heart. All the while his reason was alert, his logic incisive, his eloquence convincing beyond measure. Of that foresight and discernment which constitutes so great an asset in the equipment of the politician he had more than the average. From a certain measure of adjustment which is inevitable in the domain of practical and public affairs, he never shrank

Latterly, however, his strategy has created an impression on men who have been his life-long admirers, that it was going beyond limits. While in England, his attitude towards the Reform Act, made so ardent an admirer as the *Hindu* suspect that "while remaining true to his Nationalistic principles, he was earning the tolerant good-will of the Moderates" And this was not considered a qualification for his presidency of the Congress at Amritsar, for in the very note in which this sentence occurred, the *Hindu*, which was the only paper in India that worked for Tilak's presidency at first, later clearly leaned towards Sir Sankaran Nair as against Tilak. The moment the latter set foot in

Iodia, he made a speech in which he once again lived up to his belligerent reputation. When he came to Madras on the eve of the Amritsar Congress, he gave counsel that the Reform Act should be worked. On his way home he wired to Mr Montagu offering responsive co-operation but at Amritsar he opposed Gandhi's call for that very responsive co-operation and was responsible for the truncated resolution which stood in the name of Mr Das and which embodied no instructions to the nation to work or to reject the Act or to offer their responsive co-operation which only the previous day he had wired in the name of his Home Rule League and the people of India. Finally he agreed to work the Act so as to help the early establishment of Responsible Government in India. The very next day in Amritsar he spoke at a meeting when he made it clear that he would not co-operate unless the Transferred subjects were given an equal allotment with the Reserved. The speech gave rise to a fierce controversy in the country from end to end—and the *Maharatta* in publishing it, omitted the contentious paragraph and sought neither to justify nor to repudiate the position taken up in the past Amritsar Congress meeting. Then in the programme of the Congress Democratic party he undertook to work the Act for all it was worth. But the greatest disappointment arose when he did not see eye to eye with Gandhi in the

matter of Non-Co-operation There is some justification to believe that Mr. Tilak had been in the closing days of his life somewhat tossed about by his following. In Bombay Special Congress he threw his weight on the side of moderation and avoided the split which developed in Delhi His attitude at the time was a little trying to his following in the Maharashtra and elsewhere. Later he was on intimate terms with the Madras politicians and was himself hard put to it to keep them in good humour in Amritsar. There is ground to believe that he or his intimate friends while in England set their hearts on installing him as President of the Congress He had indeed been elected President of the Delhi Congress, but he could not preside as he had left for England For the Amritsar Congress both Madras and Andhra stood by him But the desired result did not follow It had been taken for granted that over the Nagpur Congress he should preside To preside over the Congress is to be admitted to the highest honor open to an Indian at the hands of his countrymen. The latter days of Tilak's career were overshadowed by the complications arising from a too ready susceptibility to the wishes of his following.

The New age with its rapid and kaleidoscopic mutations is a source of trial to the nation. Tilak's loss at this juncture is a loss to the Moderate wing of Indian politicians no less than the Nationalist

wing for his habit of timely adjustment, his position and attitude to Bombay Special Congress and his resolve to work the Act and advise entry into the Councils, marked out as a tower of strength to those who have arrayed themselves against Non-Co-operation. In our immediate and our remote future we shall miss the leadership and guidance of a perfect statesman whose imagination whose courage and whose sympathy have won for him the foremost place amongst the thinkers and workers of the world in his time. The honours we can do to the departed are many and various but no greater honour we can render unto his memory than to follow in his footsteps, and strive for the emancipation and uplift of India for which he dedicated his life and gave it as an offering. May we venture to repeat of Tilak what a great orator once said of Washington?

*"The liberties that he had won with blood and sacrifice are ours to keep and to multiply with labour and service. No privilege that encroaches upon them shall be endured. No disorder that imperils them shall be sanctioned. No class that invades them shall be tolerated. There is a life worth living now as it was worth living for Tilak—and that is the honest life. There is a battle worth fighting now as it was worth fighting for Tilak and that is the battle for the rights of the people. To make our country free as well as great to break the strings that strangle real liberty and to keep them

The name of Tilak has been substituted for that of Washington

broken, to cleanse the fountains of our national life from political, commercial and social corruption, to teach our sons and daughters as Tilak did teach, by precept and example, the honour of serving such a country as India,—that is work worthy of the finest manhood and womanhood. The well-born are those who are born to do that work; the well-bred are those who are taught to be proud of that work, the well-educated are those who understand the meaning and necessity of that work. Nor shall their labour be for nought, nor the reward of their sacrifice be denied. For high in the firmament of human destiny are set the stars of Faith in mankind and unselfish courage and loyalty to the ideal, and while these shine, the spirit and the hope of Tilak and the men who stood with him shall never, die "

Janmabhumi.

BAL GANGADHAR TILAK

The death of Bal Gangadhar Tilak removes from the stage of Indian politics a figure of remarkably commanding personality. There are no parties on this question of India's great national loss in his death. A nation now mourns the death of its lost leader. There are many amongst us who, when he lived, never acted in the spirit of Gladstone's maxim :

"It is always best to take the charitable view especially in politics. All hands must now clasp over the body of the dead because he served the same cause as the rest of us. This he did with a courage a passion a sacrifice which defies imitation. Admiration is a poor word to describe our estimate of his services. And yet like the humblest of us, he was but a servant of the motherland always first in battle first in peace. India was always calling to him—sleeping or waking to his death the motherland was uttermost in his thoughts. Happy Warrior he died when still fighting and in sight of victory. His greatest gift to us and posterity is the example of a great life selflessly lived long may that example inspire us, till the cause which he served succeeds! A Memorial—worthy of his sacrifices worthy of a sorrowing nation's gratitude—is what India owes him. And we hope that all parties will unite over this elementary duty of the living to the dead. It is so hard to think of him as lost.

United India and Indian States

THE NATION IN MOURNING

A Prince and a Great Man has fallen Bharat Mata has lost her noblest son. After the favourable telegrams received on Friday and Saturday, it was hoped, it was earnestly prayed for, by millions throughout the country, that God in his mercy would yet spare Lokamanya Tilak for his country. But God had willed it otherwise; and the whole country from the Himalayas to Cape Comerin is now plunged in sorrow and despair. With him has passed away a generation of great stalwarts who made the name of Bombay Presidency great in the political annals of the country—Gokhale, Pheroze-shah Mehta, and Dadabhai Naorojee. The Lokamanya stood head and shoulders above his contemporaries in that he was the adored man of the untold millions of the country, the idol of his nation, the Patriarch of his people. His was a name to conjure with. The simplicity of his life, the unostentatiousness of his character, the most democratic mould of his mental constitution, his accessibility to the poor, the rich, the young and the old alike, his incomparable sufferings in the cause of his country have converted his name into a legend. Over thirty years ago the Lokamanya started his political life determined to win *Swarajya* for his country. He stuck to his guns through good report and evil report. He was prosecuted, misrepresented, vilified and punished.

If Mr Tilak was called Lokamanya (the adored of the people) it was because in him were embodied some of the best and noblest elements in the national life of ancient and modern India. He was the embodiment of the struggles the sufferings and the aspirations of a great and ancient nation. He never truckled to the mob. Remote, unfriended and melancholy he stood alone as a beacon light when he began his political life. It is the country that understood him and followed him he never followed the country. He is the Indian Moses who brought the country within sight of the Promised Land. He was not destined to enter it. His reward nevertheless was great. He saw his people, self respecting manly and demanding their birth right. Let us thank God for his mercy in giving us the Lokamanya. Let us bow to His will in taking him away. Let us thank Him in Musjid and Mandir for having given to the country for 66 years a life so noble so rich so self sacrificing so heroic and so patriotic. Let us honour his life by consecrating ourselves to the service of the mother land for which he so nobly lived and died.

New Times

IS TILAK DEAD?

Last night's mass meeting at the Idgah was a solemn tribute of Karachi to the memory of Lok. Tilak. None who was present could fail to be impressed by the fact that the meeting was inspired by reverence for the life-ideals of the great patriot. Some remembered Tilak as a student of ancient classics, some thought of him as a thinker and a religiously-minded man. But all understood that he was India's greatest political leader, for he sacrificed his all at the altar of nation-service and battled bravely against the bureaucracy to win freedom for his country. Tilak the patriot has fascinated the hearts of millions of his countrymen; and he still speaks out his message to his people. Not many weeks have passed since Karachi saw him at the self-same Idgah;—the Lokamanya, tired and spent in physical strength, yet retaining mental vigour and giving the Karachi citizens his great message—*'agitate, educate, and organise for the achievement of Swaraj'*! That voice has been hushed to silence, but the power and the political vision behind it are, perhaps, more potent and have secured a stronger hold on the minds and hearts of millions of India's masses to-day.

Tilak the patriot lives in the heart and mind of India and will remain an inspiration to coming generations. What more natural than that the

people who revere his memory should have memorials to him? The question before the people of Karachi is what memorial to raise to the Lokamanya. At last night's meeting a resolution moved by Seth Haji Abdulla Haroon being unanimously accepted a Committee, with power to add was formed with a view to decide upon a suitable memorial to Lok Tilak and collect funds for the purpose. The Committee will we hope, meet early to take steps in the right direction. We hope too the Committee will decide upon a form of memorial that would contribute to the national life and progress of Sind. Several suggestions have already been made to us as to the best form of Tilak Memorial. Some suggest that we should have a Tilak University for Sind beginning say with a College. Some suggest that we should have a Tilak National College and School affiliated to or independent of the Bombay University. Some prefer a Tilak Hall in Karachi, spacious enough to accommodate large audiences and suitable to the mass of the people. Some are eager to attach to such a Hall a Library or Reading room and a Department of Oriental Culture or Indian History. The idea of a Tilak statue is also in the air. At Hyderabad some have thought of opening a Tilak Ashram with a Library and a Reading Room. Some suggest that a Mandir be built to his memory. But all are agreed upon one thing—that the Tilak Memorial should be

a monument worthy of the man and his message. The Karachi Committee will, we hope, consult the public, invite suggestions from all quarters and put forth efforts to formulate, at an early date, a practical scheme such as may do the greatest good to Sind. The Lokamanya is not dead. His ideal lives; his inspiration abides and we must incorporate them in the thought and life and national movement of Modern Sind.

New Times.

A DEPARTED PATRIOT.

It is with infinite regret that we record the demise of that towering personality, Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, whom many delighted to honour with the dignified appellation of Lokamanya. In the course of the last three decades he bulked very largely before the public eye. A renowned scholar, a courageous patriot, and a resourceful and persevering agitator, he won a greater measure of popularity among several large sections of his countrymen than any other patriotic leader of his time. Even his adversaries and opponents warmly acknowledge his superior scholarship, brilliant intellectual powers and immense political work. India is surely rendered poorer by his death. The great hero is called to eternal rest amid a nation's lamentation. We are

informed by our correspondent that his remains were accorded exceptional funeral honours in Bombay. May his soul rest in peace and may the Almighty endow this country with more patriots like Dadabhai Telang, Ranade, Gokhale and Tilak.

The Kanara Leader

THE LATE MR. TILAK

Friend and foe alike—we use the term foe in the sense of a Parliamentary opposition only—all alike recognise that a star of the first magnitude has suddenly dropped out of the Indian political firmament. Mr. Tilak's towering personality and titanic energy will be missed for many a long year in both the wings of the great Nationalist party. The important part played by Mr. Tilak in the evolution of political India and Maharashtra especially, could be gauged by one fact alone viz. that it will be impossible to write the history of the times without reckoning with the contributions made to it by the figure that has now passed away from our midst. In the presence of Death—that Master leveller of all opinions, creeds and distinctions—all controversies stand hushed and the present is not the time to mention the various national issues with regard to which we stood sometimes hopelessly divided from the departed veteran. But as we have

remarked above, friend or foe alike would bear ungrudging testimony to Mr. Tilak's passionate love of the motherland, his titanic energy, inflexible will and wide erudition. Such a man would have found a lasting niche of undisputed glory in the temple of fame in any country. In the peculiar political situation, however, in which India happens to be, identity of aims does not necessarily imply similarity in methods of achieving them. And it is on account of this that Mr. Tilak's aim, attitude and activities became the storm-centre of passionate controversies. Throughout the protean changes which his political creed underwent in the course of the last forty years, one trait, viz, his deep and passionate love of his country, stands out prominent; and this, added to his versatile intellect which takes him now into the field of the antiquity of the Vedas, next into the reform of the Hindu calendar and then again into the philosophy of the *Bhagavad Gita* is enough to secure for Mr. Tilak, a permanent place in the gallery of Indian nation-builders. It is too early as yet and we are living too near his time to be able to appraise correctly the true value of Mr. Tilak's work, of all that he did, undid, even mis-did, and, above all, suffered. The furious controversies that Mr. Tilak raised are not yet hushed and though it must be admitted that his recent activities and utterances showed a keener appreciation of the necessity of constructive work along all the lines

of national development the major part of his life was unfortunately devoted to the pursuit of aims and the adoption of methods which could not commended themselves to those of his countrymen who pined their faith in all sided progress. In contemplating the life of Mr Tilak two comparisons stand out prominently before our eyes. He was no mere visionary though like the patriot in every land he has had his own share of dreaming dreams. In every thing that he undertook he was eminently practical it may even be said sometimes too practical. In this he resembled Mr Parnell of Irish politics. There were people in Ireland in Parnell's time who thought that redress of grievances will mean the death of Home Rule movement and that the more the volume of grievances the greater the discontent which would keep the desire for Home Rule intense. Mr Parnell however did not hold this view. He believed that the spirit of nationality could not be quenched that the claim for the legislative independence of Ireland would never be given up. Whatever the course of remedial legislation might be Irish nationality said Mr Parnell once must be very thin indeed if it could be given up for anything so light as some remedial pieces of legislation and added (and here lies the true resemblance between the Indian patriot and Mr Parnell)

My opinion is that everything they give us makes for Home Rule and we should take everything

The better off the people are, the better Nationalists they will be. The starving man is not a good Nationalist." Comparing these words with what the real attitude of Mr Tilak, leaving aside all camouflage, has been towards working the Reforms, one can see the close similarity between their mental attitudes. There is another respect in which Mr Tilak resembled Mr. Parnell. Neither of them had any faith in an appeal to the moral sense of England. Recently Mr. Tilak professed to have seen some use in an appeal to the English masses as distinguished from the governing classes. But really he had no such faith. It is said of Mr. Parnell that he looked upon the English as a nation of hypocrites. "He would as soon have thought of favouring a plan for constructing a railway to the moon as of appealing to the moral sense of England. His one idea of dealing with them was to put them in a tight place." This was also in some measure on which Mr. Tilak proceeded and this was also the *raison-de-etre* of his constant collision with authority. This is not the place to inquire whether all this was necessary or brought any proportionate amount of good to the country which he loved so dearly. But in a country ruled as India is, a man who, like Mr. Tilak is constantly up against authority, is bound to be a darling of the people whatever the view of the more statesmanlike among them might be. Even if he had a hundred

other faults people are bound to overlook them all. It is said Mr. Parnell dreaded nothing so much as being thought well off by any Englishman because that may have meant the loss of his hold over the Irish mind. Somewhat similar was the political plan—it need not have been a conscious one—of Mr. Tilak. Apart from this his was such restless energy that strife and contention seemed to be necessary for his very existence. He could raise bitter and furious controversies and divide people into mutually hostile camps over self-evident trifles. The controversy that he raised in 1895 over the question whether the Congress Pandal should be allowed to be used by the Social Conference afterwards or not is an instance in point. It was natural and inevitable that such a nature should provoke lasting attachments as well as implacable enmities. Warm-hearted towards those whom he took to his heart as friends there was no more implacable enemy than he towards those towards whom he contracted an unaccountable prejudice or whom he considered his enemies.

Another person in contemporary public life in England whom Mr. Tilak resembles in some respect is the present Premier of England Mr. Lloyd George. In his transcendent power of appeal to the mass mind at least in the Maharashtra he resembles Mr. Lloyd George the present Premier of England. It was most unfortunate that this appeal to the

mass mind was never made in a spirit of fairness, a trait with regard to which he was the exact anti-thesis of Mr. Gandhi; but, there it is—the man and his methods. You may agree with him or differ from him—you had always to reckon with him. Such was the transcendant capacity and consuming energy of the man who has left us. His deep patriotism, his indomitable energy, his inflexibility of will, his preparedness to make any sacrifices for the aims he laid before himself—these are the lessons which the younger generation which professes to revere him so much ought to derive from his life, if they want to be true to the memory of the departed patriot

The Hitavada

BAL GANGADHAR TILAK

The death of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, who he occurred in Bombay last Sunday, removes from to arena of Indian politics a personality which was of forceful and vigorous as it was varied. For for long years, from the day that he started the *Kesari* his had been an exceedingly powerful and dominant influence in Maharashtra.

Mr Tilak started life as an educationist and publicist. He was a recognised scholar of Sanskrit, Mathematics and Astronomy. His two works, the

Orion' and the 'Arctic Home in the Vedas' are written with a view to determine the date of the Vedas and the abode of our Vedic ancestors from the astronomical data available in the Vedic hymns. It was a feat in turning to good account one's knowledge of astronomy, mathematics and the ancient Sanskrit lore. And all this was accomplished in moments of enforced leisure when he was compulsorily withdrawn from his active and busy life as a politician and without the command of a good and well stocked library or any books worth the name. The Arctic Home was written in jail when Mr. Tilak had nothing with him except Max Müller's translation and text of the Vedas. The same was the case with his writing of *Gita Rahasya*. It was written at Mandalay where there could not possibly be as many books at hand for reference as the scholarly work is supposed to require. These have been thus a marvellous feat of memory, of great intellectual effort and of a knowledge that was so well assimilated as it was ready at any moment for use not to refer to its depth, width and variety.

The *Gita Rahasya* apart from the standpoint it develops on the text of the *Gita* is a mine of learning not only on philosophical but on practical every day matters of social and political life and a model of lucid, clear, straight and forcible Marathi prose. These three works will ever bear witness to Mr. Tilak's genius. They will show that he was

not a mere politician but a scholar in the real sense of the word.

The *Kesari* won its way to popular support, recognition and worship, among other things, by its direct style, by its mastery of its own view-point, and by the energy of the great personality behind it. It has never minced matters in driving its own gospel home to the hearts of its vast reading public. The ordinary reader demands force and clear presentation. The more forceful it is the better he understands. The *Kesari* was written in sentences that stuck and burnt into the heart and soul of its readers. Every phrase went piercing through. The shot told and it was meant to tell. And it was because behind the *Kesari* was an editor who knew his facts thoroughly, who had the art to select the right thing at the right moment, whose powerful pen was wielded with a single-pointed aim to make his political gospel a living sentiment among the people, and who was absolutely indifferent to methods so long as they served the supreme aim of his work.

The triumph of the *Kesari* was the triumph of Mr Tilak. He has shown by his journalism what a powerful weapon it becomes in the hands of an astute, far-seeing, forceful and first-rate man of ability and letters. Mr. Tilak, in addition to his being a scholar, was a man of practical genius. He brushed aside everything that interfered with his

programme with the restlessness of a born strategist. He saw that social reform if taken up as a plank in his work, was likely to seriously interfere with the kind of public opinion it was his ambition to create on political matters. He, therefore not only subordinated it to politics but thrust it aside altogether as a useless encumbrance. That is the explanation of his antagonism to social and religious reform. He understood the psychology of the mass of his people aright. And he utilised it for his main purpose which was to create a tremendous force and power in the country to back up his political propaganda. His lectures his writings his methods of agitation his manner of work and his movements were all inspired by this dominating impulse. Let the people be first made to feel and think—and feel more than think—nationally on certain broad and deep questions of political emancipation. Let them think in one key. Let it become with them a great driving force. Let public opinion vibrate and quiver and move forward to that impulse. Unless that is done unless this great force is aroused unless this sentiment is awakened the educated man the so called agitator is helpless before the all powerful bureaucrat to get his reforms accepted. Mr Tilak's work in Maharashtra in the first instance and for the last 10 years in the whole of India was to prepare this driving force to get this momentum and energy behind the uphill work of political emancipation.

In political ideas as such he originated nothing. He had absolutely no scruples to borrow anything from any one so long as it suited his plan to do so. Home Rule, Boycott, Swadeshi, National Education, Swarajya, Federation, these ideas he did not originate as planks for agitation. But his work was to put into them such an energy for the time being that they came upon the people with the force of a hurricane that swept them off their feet. Politics and the masses—these two he was the first to bring together in Maharashtra, or, for the matter of that, in Western India. And it was because he did so that the powers that be have ceased to twit the politics of the educated as that of the microscopic minority. The Congress even now appeals only to the educated. But the vernacular journals it is that spread the gospel of the Congress far and wide that he who runs may read. And the more virile the pen, the better chance it has of driving the gospel home. And no paper in the Deccan is so virile as the *Kesari*. And that is because of the great personality behind it.

Mr Tilak's politics, generally speaking, has not gone beyond the politics of the Congress. For a time it was the four resolutions passed at the Calcutta Congress of 1906. Then it was the Swarajya creed as defined by Dadabhai. And for himself, he kept strictly within the limits of law.

On all the occasions that he was politically convicted, it was on articles written by others though the responsibility was his own and he never shirked it. One of the great secrets of his power and hold upon the people was his loyalty to his followers and his preparedness to suffer for the opinions he held.

The three prosecutions against him converted him once for all from a provincial into an all India reputation. In a sense it was the Government that was responsible for converting him into a hero and a martyr. Suffering always strikes a sympathetic chord in the human heart. And when that suffering is associated in the public mind with the people's cause it endears the man who suffers all the more. Respect and admiration are at once transformed into affection. And a halo surrounds the man who has passed through the fire. That is how repression never represses. Mr. Tilak's popularity and hold on the masses apart from the great work of national awakening he achieved through his paper were due in a large measure to the trials he had to face and the sentences passed upon him. They brought out all his courage, his intellectual and moral force, his tenacity of will and strength of purpose. Above all they burnt deep into the soul of his fellow countrymen as nothing else could have done his intense love for his country, his overwhelming self sacrifice and his utter disregard of all considerations of personal safety and ease.

Fear was a word entirely absent from his vocabulary. Gladstone has said that in public life the greatest virtue required of a man to make a real success is courage. And that courage and the will to persist, Mr. Tilak had in an abundant measure. That is why from the year 1898, when the first prosecution was launched against him, up to the last moment of his life on this earth, his fame and popularity among the people, who understand nothing better than suffering, was ever on the increase. From a publicist he became a patriot, then a martyr, then a hero and in his closing years, the bulk of the people in the Deccan looked upon him as an *Avatar* and a saint. It is easy to laugh at or ridicule this feeling. But the wiser thing is to try to explain and understand it. And to us the one great secret of it seems to be the sufferings he went through for what he considered to be his opinions in a buoyant and ever hopeful spirit. They did not extinguish him. On the other hand he triumphed over them. And every time he loomed larger and larger on the public horizon.

And to this suffering he joined a simple personal life and noble private character. Every man, woman and child in Western India knows the name of Mr. Tilak and the kind of personal life he led, plain living and high thinking. That was very truly and very significantly his ideal of life and conduct. Above the temptations of self, and of honour,

the one thing he was most ambitious for was power. And that power he won over the imagination and hearts of his people. Undoubtedly with the people he was a name to conjure with. And that was the fruit of his concentrated will and intense public life. He was never a dilettant. Whenever he had once decided that a certain line of policy was to be acted upon then there was no turning back from it. For its triumph he would spread his net far and wide. He would create the organic filaments by which it would work out its intended goal. His work has been run down in certain quarters as destructive. But from his own point of view it was intensely constructive. His ambition was to create among the people a living growing sentiment of national pride, national self respect and national honour. And that he has succeeded in doing apart from the ways and means he adopted for their accomplishment.

We have always to measure a man by his vision. And by that test Mr. Tilak comes out a really great man who has made his mark in the history of Modern India. Surely his name will not be writ in water. Whatever else we may say of him we cannot deny to him the title of one of India's greatest sons who dedicated his life, his talents, his energy and his all to the service of his Motherland. It may be according to his lights but an unstinted and selfless service it was all the same.

No one, who had not done this and who had not convinced the people that he had done this, could have got the grand funeral that was given him. In the main, the people are always right. And last Sunday's demonstration in Bombay shows clearly and unmistakably that Bal Gangadhar Tilak has won for himself a niche in the hearts of his people by his supreme dedication, by his concentrated work, by his tremendous force and energy, by his absolute disregard of self, and above all by his clean, pure and simple personal life in which scholarship and practical spirit were so singularly well-combined

We have not been worshippers at his idol. We do not belong to his school. We do not take our aims and ideals from him. Many a time, in these columns, we have criticised his opinions, methods and aims. But we cannot forget that behind all these was a great man, a selfless man, a man in whom the love of the motherland was the foremost thought of all, and who worked for his goal with a courage, persistency of will, and single-pointedness, rare at all times, and rare, above all things, in the days in which our lot is cast. "The characteristic of heroism is persistency," says Carlyle. And in that sense he was a real hero. And as a hero we will recall him, apart from opinions. Because opinions change, die, and become no more. Character abides.

Subhodha Patrika

LOKAMANYA BAL GANGADHAR TILAK.

Death has removed a maker of modern India Lokamanya Tilak died in Bombay on Sunday the 1st of August at about 1 a. m. India loses a great awakener who loved his country and its people above anything else. For a period of full 49 years his perpetual activities have been before the country (and latterly before the world) He was proud to call himself a *fighter* in common parlance he was an *agitator* we view him as an *awakener* Nothing attracted him but the devoted service of the motherland He was an unselfish tireless worker for his country's good He deliberately chose a life of poverty and hardship but a life that left him free to express himself fully and frankly and to criticise the administration without fear He chose too a life of activity and made it sublime by the spirit of Sacrifice. He often used to quote the *Gita*—

कर्म स्यादाद्यकर्मणः ।

Activity is better than inactivity Activity as a Sacrifice was the essence of Lokamanya Tilak's life Service of the country was the supreme passion He endeavoured to make his country great surrounded as he was with uncongenial atmosphere. He taught his people to be fearless and behave as men and claim their rights as men The natural result of India's foreign rule has that people

become cowed down and disheartened. They had to be stimulated and heartened, and with this result in view Lokamanya Tilak worked with sublime courage and great singleness of purpose, all his own. In losing him to-day India loses a tireless worker and a courageous awakener.

About the year 1880 the country presented a pitiable spectacle. There was repression everywhere as a result of Lord Lytton's policy. New laws were enacted and no liberty was left to the people who could not dream of their greatness. They were to be in a servile condition. They were not to raise head. But at the same time English literature and the History of the British people were being read and studied; and this study had its inevitable effect. Lord Lytton made repressive laws, but forgot to close English schools in India. In the English schools lay the seeds of the future greatness of India. In the midst of the repressive *action* of the British policy in India, there came *reaction* and a new school of thinkers or rather of workers and awakeners. Poona gave birth to this School. Let us call it the School of Poona Patriots.

Young English educated men began this School, Chiplunkar B. A., Agarkar M. A., Tilak B. A., L.L. B., and Apte, M. A., were among the first workers. Chiplunkar was a prophet among them and had prepared the soil for the new patriotic effort by

publishing his monthly the *Nibandhamala* some years before. They put their heads together and devised a scheme basing it on Work and Sacrifice they being prepared to remain poor and offer all they had on the altar of the motherland and work for her elevation. They planned and they worked and left us one by one, Mr Tilak being the last to leave. They have left their mark on history. Their teachings prepared the ground for to-day's Nationalistic endeavour. We say they were our first Nationalists.

They started with these ideas. The English have eclipsed us by their superior organisation and by their political power and mean to keep us in subjection by destroying our self-confidence self respect and self knowledge. Everything English is good. Everything Indian is bad! Let us, said this School of Poona Patriots cultivate our own vernaculars let us awaken the people by teaching them the greatness of our History and our religion and the excellence of our civilisation. To awaken the people to evolve their manhood to inspire them with self respect for the national self realisation was the motive guiding the steps of these Patriots. Under the circumstances they chose their means. They elected not to enter Government service not practise as lawyers but to be teachers and awake ners at any cost. The cost was great and they paid it. They opened the New English School the Fergusson

College, and a Press and established two journals—the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*. Mr. Tilak was teacher at the School and afterwards worked as a Professor at the College. He also edited the two papers. After a time he left the School and the College and entered the arena of political agitation, where the whole nation was his school and, he, the nation—School's able teacher. In the *Kesari* he wielded a forceful Marathi language. In both the papers he wrote as he spoke. He gave a new turn to the thought of his readers, his students, and his countrymen. He taught many to think more of the service of their country and less of themselves. He taught the people the greatness of their own history and inspired them with a confidence that they and their nation would be great again. This was a new inspiration the country needed and Mr. Tilak's incomparable work lay in this direction. He taught the younger generations to stand erect in their full manhood in all branches of public activity and be proud of their country and their ancient heritage. He opposed social and religious reform as it was conceived and practised 40 or 50 years ago, his forte was political agitation of which he was past-master. He utilised all opportunities to awaken the dormant mass of the people. Political freedom was *the* one thing needed first for his country's well-being,—such was the predominant thought of his life and career. The sun rises and the world is made active :

so he thought that given political emancipation connoted by Home Rule all else will follow. The sum total of his work is general awakening wherever his influence came to be felt. And there is not a hamlet in India where he was not known as a Saviour of the country and Defender of the Faith. Death deprives us now of such a friend, who came only to serve the people and the nation as the poet says—

ममो हि सौमन्दयाय तादृशम्।

The birth indeed is for the elevation of the people of such as he. He indeed lived for the people.

Not only that Mr Tilak loved the people. He did not live in proud seclusion as educated people forty years ago lived. His door was open to all. He wanted to go to the people straight for every movement. He knew quite instinctively that his work lay among the people. He knew that on individual patriot or a few patriotic individuals could be crushed, not even a despot could not crush the whole mass of the people when awakened and inspired with patriotic feelings. With this idea Mr Tilak worked—and succeeded. To his school and college came young men from the whole of the Mahratta country and learnt lessons of patriotism. His paper the *Kesari* being written in the language of the people spread everywhere and carried the

teachings of political philosophy imbibed from British history. People had to be awakened. Mr. Tilak criticised the administration and criticised the social reformers with this end in view. As alien rule was calculated to destroy the real manhood of the people so aping foreign customs and holding up foreign ideals in social life was calculated to destroy all self-respect. The religious reformer put forth Christian model, and the social reformer was enamoured of Western manners this Mr Tilak attacked with vehemance. He wanted social and religious reform without breaking away from the ancient tradition too much.

Everywhere he sought strength from the people. Even in politics he sought to have numbers on his side, not only when he opposed the Government, but even when he wanted victory for his party over his political opponents. If he desired to put forth a view in the Congress, he first preached it to the people and made them accept it. Thus his opponents were faced with the whole opposition of numbers made to stand up against them by their beloved leader, Mr Tilak. On every question he had his majority ready, and in this he gave political education to the people, the best under the circumstances. His political opponents lived in seclusion, in their chambers and palacial residences. And he—the awakener of the people—

communicated with the people constantly. Where as some of his political opponents hardly addressed a public meeting in a year Mr Tilak gave a hundred lectures and sent out 52 issues of the *Kesari*. Heard and read and seen by thousands, he was naturally loved and followed by thousands with whom his word was law. He loved the people and he lived for them.

And in return the people loved him as was but natural. He fought with the Government and the people understood that he fought for them. He suffered at the hands of the Government and the people recognised the sufferings to have been for them. He opposed the Reformers and the people easily recognised in him a defender of their Faith a defender of their ancient tradition. He was thrice sent to prison and people's love accompanied him there and supported him. The Government did not of course like him and he ceased to be *Rajamanaya* (king—liked). But people loved him and he soon got the title—*Lokamanya* liked or beloved of the people. The more he worked for the people the more they loved him. He was a whole time worker and server and people saw his transparent sincerity and uncommon selflessness. When he died the pent up love surged out and millions followed his bier as they would not follow even a king. He passed on Heavenwards surrounded by the beautiful loving thoughts of his

countrymen. Even his opponents have a thought of regret for him, for they say 'we differed, but what of that now; he was a great man and the loss is national.' Thus the people loved the living Tilak, loved the dead Tilak, and will continue to love him for a long time to come as enshrined in their hearts. His spirit lives in our midst and thus, in a sense, he lives. For, says an Aryan girl in the *Malati-Madhava*—

न खलु स उपरतो यस्य बह्वभो जनः स्मरति।

'Not surely is he dead whom his loving people remember, and remember with tears.' Lokamanya Tilak's work is there to guide and inspire. Let us learn from it and walk in his footsteps in the service of the Motherland. Let us drop our first tears for him—our beloved patriot—and then let us draw inspiration from his work for us. We are proud of him and proud of the country that gave him birth. His life has shown us that even under the present circumstances we can serve our country and lead her on the Path of Freedom. For, 'what man has done, man can do.' Circumstances are now changing, and he is destined to be our first and last Lokamanya. The Lokamanya is dead. Long live the Lokamanya.

We salute him and offer a garland of flowers to his memory.

Hindu Missionary.

A SELFLESS PATRIOT

As often happens in cases of grave illness the improvement in Mr Tilak's condition proved illusory. It was the final flicker of the candle in the socket. Mr Tilak breathed his last an hour after midnight on Saturday the 31st July. The largest funeral procession witnessed in Bombay in recent years was that of Mr Dadabhai Naoroji. Mr Tilak's totally eclipsed it. Most of those who followed Mr Dadabhai's remains to the Tower of Silence were English-educated men. Mr Tilak's body was cremated on the sands of Chowpati in the presence of a vast concourse to which the working classes of the population contributed as many as the English educated class. The difference marks the distinction between the politics of the two leaders. That, however, made no difference to the resident European population which was as conspicuous by its absence in Mr Dadabhai's as in Mr Tilak's funeral procession. Government House also as completely ignored the one as the other. One lost opportunity more!

Mr Dadabhai in his presidential address to the National Congress of 1906 said of himself. In 1853 when I made my first little speech at the Inauguration of the Bombay Association in perfect innocence of heart influenced by my English education into great admiration for the character instincts and struggles for liberty of the British people, I expressed my faith and confidence

in the British rulers in a short speech. Such was my faith . . . and now, owing to the non-fulfilment of solemn pledges, what a change has taken place in the mind of the educated! Since my early efforts, I must say I have felt so many disappointments as would be sufficient to break any heart and lead one to despair." But Dadabhai would not despair, first, because he believed that his cause was just and must win, and, secondly, because he had faith in British character "I base my hope upon the revival of the old British love of liberty and self-government, of honour for pledges, of our rights to our fellow British citizenship "

Mr Tilak, as a political figure, was the embodiment of the bitterness of the disillusionment which Dadabhai lamented. Indians had been encouraged to take to English education by the hope that, in course of time, they would be made co-sharers in the administration of India. But when the number of English-educated men increased and they began seriously to claim their share, they were told that they were sickly exotics and not true representatives of the masses. Mr. Tilak, again, was the answer to that challenge. The non-fulfilment of solemn pledges and the denial of the representative character of educated Indians, introduced the germs of what is now called the "extremist" view in Indian politics which had for many years proceeded on the ideas that actuated Mr Dadabhai when he made his

first speech in 1853 Mr Tilak was the first in Western India to seize hold of the new opening for leadership. And as the policy of denial ripened into the policy of repression emphasising itself in a constantly increasing arrogation by the Executive to itself of the power of the Judiciary in respect of the rights and liberties of the people, Mr Tilak by his bold, persistent and unwavering opposition extended and consolidated his influence far beyond the limits of Maharashtra. It has been said against him that he leaves behind him no constructive work to his credit. In the history of a nation it is extremely difficult to draw a line between what is destructive and what is constructive. The extinction of slavery was a merely destructive measure but without it the ground could not be cleared for the brotherhood of man. Much social reform work during the last century has been condemned by the orthodox as merely destructive. We have been often asked as regards the abolition of caste as we are asked to-day about Non Co operation what is your alternative? Our reply in the one case as in the other is that there is no need for an alternative. Caste must go in order that the nation may grow. Mr Tilak started in his public career with the conviction that there can be no political salvation unless the bureaucracy was destroyed. The conviction was forced upon him at first as it has been forced upon many others since by slow degrees, solidifying,

owing to the O'Dwyer-Dyer doings in the Punjab, into an article of faith that will last as long as the last vestige of bureaucracy. As the bureaucracy marched from repression to repression, the old guard of Indian politics fell back discredited in the eyes of the public and finally left the field to be fought entirely between the aggressive bureaucracy and an inflamed nationalism. Mr. Tilak was easily the most gifted, the most courageous, the most skilful, and latterly, the most experienced general leading nationalism to the attack.

"A man does not become celebrated," observes Lord Morley, "in proportion to his general capacity, but because he does or says something which happened to need doing or saying at the moment." The distrust of the bureaucracy is the one great sentiment which unites to-day all castes and creeds, the rich and the poor, the merchant, the manufacturer, the professional man, the toiler in the field. And Mr Tilak felt it through all his being and became the most determined and uncompromising exponent of it. Others equally convinced of the evils inherent in the system, cannot but recognise that its record in India, especially in its earlier stages, was illuminated by not a few great names of men who laboured sincerely for the country's good. Mr Tilak was too well-read in Indian History not to appreciate this fact. But he was possessed by

the sense of a mission to do battle with the bureaucracy and would admit to his judgment no consideration that did not add to its imperativeness. In this respect he was merely the counterpart of many Englishmen who are resolved to see no blemishes in their rule in India. Unlike many if not most, others who have climbed to leadership by denunciation of the bureaucracy in point of general capacity Mr Tilak stood in the front rank of contemporary minds. His researches into the chronology of what is called pre historic India show consummate qualities of patient investigation accurate scholarship and illuminating insight. His commentary on the *Gita* is evidently the exposition of his own philosophic creed. In his last days, it is said he seldom spoke of politics but frequently recited his favorite verses from the *Bhagavad Gita*. His last words before he lost consciousness are reported to have been the memorable verse which declares that the Cosmic Soul graciously condescends to our world whenever the moral order is in danger of destruction. Another great book puts the same idea in a different form when it says that God has not left Himself without a witness in any age or country. This ancient intuition is crystallised in the common experience that in communities not devitalised by their own spiritual derelictions the hour always brings forth the man it most needs. For a patriot painfully conscious of the wide divergence between

endeavour and achievement, there can be no affirmation more full of comfort at his last moment. It is an inveterate Indian belief that men's last thoughts are the true index of their pre-occupation. Politics were not Mr Tilak's pre-occupation. The dim depths of the past and the effulgent unfolding of eternity in Time, were the high themes most congenial to his spirit. We remember to have read that he often said so. It was his country's need that constrained him to a sphere which, under the circumstances, is singularly barren of creative opportunities for children of the soil. He stuck to his task grimly against tremendous odds. He scorned delights and lived laborious days. Here, again, his *Gita* philosophy, no doubt, stood him in good stead. He lived what may truly be called a dedicated life. All through the thirty years of its existence, there have been few points of agreement between the policy of the *Reformer* and that of Mr. Tilak. But always it has admired the greatness of the man behind the politician who treated social reforms as a matter of expediency. And now that he has passed behind the veil we think not of our differences but of the abiding contribution which he has made to the nation's heritage. Mr Tilak could have hardly failed to realise that the cause for which he fought is now assured of final triumph. The battle has gone decidedly against the bureaucracy and it has been declared by high authority

that it is now only a question of time when the bureaucracy will be no more. The premises on which Mr. Tilak founded his policy are thus profoundly altered. We are no longer called upon to fight an aggressive bureaucracy claiming permanency of tenure but a conciliatory one asking merely for time to wind up its affairs. Mr. Tilak's sacrifices and sufferings have largely contributed to this result. More than that he has left us the example of a selfless patriot working single-heartedly for what he conceived to be the good of his country and his people.

The Indian Social Reformer

BAL GANGADHAR TILAK.

To-day India mourns the death of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the most well known and the most capable of the Extremist leaders of his generation. But he was not only a great political leader but a scholar of the highest eminence. His researches into Vedic antiquities won for him a world wide fame. He sought to demonstrate by abstruse mathematical calculations based upon astronomical observations that the Vedic Aryans had their home in the Arctic regions. This startling theory which was subversive of all accepted beliefs on the subject fell like a bomb-shell on the world of European

savants ; but it was not to be dismissed as child's play or the dream of a wild and fantastic scholar. It gave rise to a heated controversy. But Mr. Tilak held his ground, with a wealth of knowledge and a power of disputation which, though it did not carry conviction, extorted the admiration of his critics. But it is not merely as a scholar that he won the regard and the affections of his countrymen, or that he will occupy an enduring place in Indian history. The figure of the recluse scholar is overshadowed by the towering and aggressive personality of the public man. It is as one of the foremost workers in the domain of public life, undaunted by the frowns and unseduced by the smiles of power that Bāl Gangadhar Tilak will live in the pages of Indian history. From the early dawn of manhood, he enlisted, under an over-whelming impulse of self-inspiration, as a devoted worker in the country's cause. He was trained in the profession of law and had qualified himself for it. In that profession, he would have won distinction, acquired wealth and found fame and happiness. He discarded them all. He felt a higher call to his motherland, beckoned to him to serve her ; he responded with alacrity and enthusiasm. Thorny was the road, beset with troubles and dangers, but leading to the Land of Promise. He found suitable comrades in the toilsome path that he had chosen for himself as the destined track, through which he was to pursue

life's journey Agarkar Chiplbukar and Tilak formed a trio who in their heart of hearts, and without the sanction of external formulas, dictated by no priest or prophet swore to dedicate themselves to the service of the motherland in which pain and punishment was to be their reward and in which the golden harvest was to be reaped, not by them but by those who would come after them. An undying faith inspired and uplifted them not the faith that triumphs in personal achievements but looks with the seer's eye into the golden visions of the future. Not in vain had Tilak studied the antiquities of his country or the glorious pages of Mahratta history. We know not what his dreams were with regard to the future but the past was to him and his companions, an inspiration for the present. The past, however did not blind them to their environment and the need of using weapons far different from those suited to more troublous times. They organised the Deccan Education Society, founded a high school and started a newspaper. They sought the elevation of their countrymen through the inspiring influence of public opinion. They sought to rouse the people to a sense of their duty to the motherland. The moral preparation must precede political enfranchisement. That has been the one outstanding method of all great political workers of modern times. Tilak adopted it by a sure instinct that hardly ever failed.

him. He was pre-eminently successful in his work. But his very success made him a target for official displeasures and he was subjected to official persecution. That was unfortunate. The official angle of vision has now changed. It was altogether different in those early days when agitation in every form and shape provoked official displeasure. He again and again found himself inside a prison, when no harm would have been done to the public interest if he had been left alone. Tilak owed his pre-eminent place in the public estimation largely to his great powers and genuine love of country but in no inconsiderable measure also to the blundering and bungling policy which the officials of his day followed in regard to him. They made him a martyr and helped to win for him his great popularity. The devotion of the people was the retort courteous to the blunders of the officialdom of those times. Nor can we help thinking that his treatment at the hands of the officials lent an unconscious colouring to his own political views. The bureaucracy has learnt a lesson from the past which, we hope, it will not forget. Officials come and go, but the people are there, an undying and ever-present factor in the life of humanity; and in all controversies between them and their leaders on the one side, and the Government on the other, victory has always been with the people. We did not indeed worship in the same temple with Bal Gangadhar

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Tilak. Between him and ourselves there were wide differences of opinion. Death however has, for the moment, veiled them from our sight and we shall not permit them to interfere with the tribute of our homage to his memory and of recording our deliberate opinion that he was one of the foremost political figures of his generation. His death is especially unfortunate at the present moment. For, with regard to at least one great burning question, that of Non Co operation he would we believe have exercised a restraining influence. Since his visit to England he was steadily leaning towards the side of moderation. His death therefore, at this moment is a grievous loss to the country and United India to-day mourns the death of one of the most devoted of her sons who loved the motherland with a love exceeding that of a woman.

The Bengalee

THE LATE MR. TILAK

Mr Bal Gangadhar Tilak the Mahratta leader is no more. His sick bed was anxiously watched for the past few days by scores of thousands of his countrymen who regarded him and looked up to him as an earnest patriot who faced danger with placid courage and made sacrifices for what he held to be his country's genuine interests. Whether one

agreed with him or differed from him on political and social questions, and we are of those who entirely differed from him on several questions, one could not but admire the qualities which made him what he was. On the first occasion when he was found guilty of a charge of sedition, the presiding Judge, Mr. Justice Strachey, addressed him in terms which must now be recalled. Mr. Justice Strachey told him in open Court that he was a most remarkable man, remarkable not only for his intellect but for his firmness of purpose and his determination to pursue what he thought was right. In favour of the early release from imprisonment, some of the most learned men in England, men like Professor Max Muller, submitted a memorial to the Government, showing how his learning as a scholar was admired even in England. He was reputed to be the ablest mathematician in Bombay for several years; and his published works show the depth of his scholarship and his capacity for research into abstruse problems which few could grasp without deep study continued for life; and, indeed, we believe, as to Mr. Tilak's scholarship and learning there was hardly any difference of opinion among friends and foes. Differences emerged into view, differences which are fundamental, in the sphere of politics and social organisation. He was from the very outset a nationalist, as that term is now understood, and the present writer had occasion to notice

traces of it even so far back as in the year 1894 Mr Tilak's nationalism grew and developed into a burning zeal and towering passion. In the pursuit of his ideal he knew no compromise he concealed nothing and carried himself forward with a resolute firm, energy and fearlessness which were astonishing. Equally strong was he in his convictions regarding social reform. It is nearly two decades or more since he and his party opposed the holding of the Indian Social Conference in the Congress pandal and though within the past two or three years he was not quite so obstinate and dogged in his opposition to social changes there is no evidence that he ever gave up his views. It is worthy of note too that while in politics he came into active collision with such men as Sir P. M. Mehta, K. T. Telang and others of their generation, in the sphere of social reform he stood against such formidable men as Mahadav Govind Ranade and Ramakrishna Bhadarkar. Indeed in Western India there was hardly a man of all India distinction whom he had not opposed in some sphere of activity or other. He had of course a large and numerous following not only in his own province but throughout India who followed him with a devotion, reverence and admiration which are rare even in India. His personality and his qualities of head and heart alike endeared him to every member of his party.

He made sacrifices, had undergone trials and tribulations, but not on one occasion was he found to be weak in heart and spirit. Not all the forces arrayed against him, whether of his own countrymen or of the Government, nor the awful majesty and terrors of the law could make him conceal his views and accept compromises. It was this aspect of his public character that attracted to him the sympathy of the multitude. This very fact made him comparatively less useful to the country at large as a constructive politician. Had he adopted, for instance, some at least of the methods of the late Mr. Gokhale, he would have achieved much more than what that famous man achieved in the sphere of practical politics. But there can be no doubt that Mr. Tilak was the undisputed leader of the Nationalists. He was not only the source of their ideas and inspiration, but also the directing and controlling force. So long as Sir Pherozesha Mehta lived, all his efforts to capture the Congress proved fruitless. Sir Pherozesha was a man of equally iron will, was an autocrat of autocrats, but an autocrat who had a magnetic personality and an eloquence which was irresistible. Mr. Tilak proved no match for him. Of Gokhale as such he did not think much and rightly so. Mr. Gokhale was an accomplished and effective interpreter of Congress principles, and latterly he succeeded wonderfully well in influencing the policy of the Government.

But he had none of the qualities of leadership for which Sir Pherozesha Mehta and Bal Gangadhar Tilak would ever be famous and if he had survived the great Parsi leader, Mr Tilak would have achieved his success in the Congress in spite of Mr Gokhale's diplomacy and influence with the Government.

Now that Mr Tilak is gone we cannot say whether the Nationalist party would be the same as it has been under his leadership. Where is the man in it who possesses his intellect his courage and his resource? It is a singular circumstance that the Indian political parties lose their directing heads at critical periods in their existence. Sir Pherozesha Mehta was gathered to his fathers when the Congress was face to face with new forces and Mr Tilak disappears at a time when Indian nationalism is about to be tested in the severe school of political practice. The Non Brahmin movement itself lost its most vivid and energetic personality when it was about to enter upon a new phase of existence. But there were great men before and after Agamemnon and we have no doubt that others will take the place of the fallen heroes and carry on the fight for India's progress, in the same spirit and with the same unflinching courage. From this conflict of ideals and forces will result a new India imbued with modern ideas and fully equipped for taking its place among the great countries of the

world In the meantime we deeply regret the death of a valiant fighter and offer our sincere condolences to the members of the late Mr. Tilak's family in their bereavement.

The Justice.

THE 'LATE BAL GANGADHAR TILAK.

In the death of Mr. Tilak India has lost a born leader, an intellectual giant and a great patriot who bore his intense sufferings manfully and cheerfully sustained by the faith that never deserted him, of an early political redemption of his country which he so passionately loved. The Maharashtra, of which he was the uncrowned king for many a long year and where his word was law, will find it almost impossible to choose a captain who can approach Mr. Tilak in those qualities of leadership which made him the great power he was—unbending will, unswerving devotion to his country, unfailing resourcefulness and untiring perseverance. He was a masterful personality, which inspired his followers and made them place implicit confidence in his sagacity. Among the makers of modern India Mr. Tilak occupies a conspicuous place in the front rank.

His firmness of purpose was unsurpassed. The ordeals he passed through trials before which many a man would have quailed and trembled only made him the bolder and braver. The Tai Maharaj and the Chirol cases cost him great intellectual effort and physical energy, in the first he succeeded and in the second he suffered a defeat but he came out of the one with renewed mental vigour and out of the other with even greater faith in the justice of the cause he espoused. The Maharaja of Kolhapur case, the trial for sedition in 1897, and the *Kesari* prosecution in 1908 saw him successively in jail for more than seven years. But the cruel persecutions did not damp his ardour or cool his love of his country. The shafts of scorn as well as the sword of vindictiveness left him entirely unhurt and he never bent before any of the many storms that swept over him in the course of his strenuous and eventful life.

Mr Tilak was a profound scholar in Sanskrit had critically studied the Vedas and conducted his own researches in Sanskrit lore. He produced the 'Orion' in 1893 and the Arctic Home in the Vedas in 1898. The *Bhagavad Gita* was the source of his inspiration as well as his comfort and his *Gita Rahasya* was planned when he was passing his days in the Mandalay Jail just as his other works were conceived during previous internments. His equanimity was such that he never lost control

of himself, nor did he give himself up to despair. He directed his intellectual energy in such a way that it brought him European fame for ripe and sound scholarship.

Though he did not possess any marked powers of eloquence or oratory, Mr. Tilak was an incisive speaker, logical, deliberate, acute, and what he lacked in brilliancy he made up by his power of sarcasm which always told, whoever may have been the object of his attack. "A. G. G." writes in one of his biographical studies "Who so ruthless as he, who so artful in playing upon the political string, who so subtle in suggesting hidden motives." The description is accurately true of Mr Tilak; nobody could fail to be struck by his lucidity, cleverness, and perfect self-possession. Mr Tilak had great faith in methods of political warfare from which many of his co-workers completely disagreed; in his consuming love of his country he did not care much for the choice of weapons even where his countrymen were concerned. But his ultimate object, which was a passionate desire for political liberty and uplift of his country, was ever before him and guided his actions, so much so that they made him, till a short time ago, impervious to pressing problems of social reform and social amelioration, without which political liberty itself will be of little value. Mr. Tilak was one of those again who considered that it would be a profound mistake to wreck the Reform

Scheme or fail to make the best use of it. He was too practically minded not to perceive that failure to work it successfully would have a retarding effect on the progress of India towards full Responsible Government. If India had been blessed with responsible Government his great ability and his marvellous power over men would have been utilised in enduring constructive work for the country. But it was his lot as it has been the lot of many others before him in subject countries to direct his energies in criticising the bureaucracy in showing up its evils and weaknesses and in creating a divine discontent with the existing order of things so necessary for reform and reconstruction. In performing this task he exhibited indomitable courage and underwent great suffering which should elicit admiration even from his enemies and for which his countrymen will ever be grateful and cherish his memory.

The Citizen

THE LATE LOKAMANYA BAL GANGADHAR TILAK

We deeply regret to announce the sad and most untimely death of Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, which melancholy event took place at Bombay on Saturday a little after midnight. Lokamanya

Tilak had just completed his sixty-fifth year, having been born on 23rd July, 1856, and was believed to be in the possession of a tolerably good health. The news of his illness which was said to be serious from the start came to the people as a surprise, and great consternation was caused throughout the length and breadth of the country when it became known on Sunday morning that the worst had happened, and the illustrious patriot and leader was removed from over the heads of the people by the cruel hand of Death at a time when they needed him most. Mr. Tilak's death is nothing short of a national calamity, for he was indisputably one of the makers of modern India. His sufferings in the cause of the country have been very great and he has stood faithfully and loyally by his mission like a rock unmoved by storm, thunder or lightening. His wise counsel and cool-headed judgment were never needed more than they are at the present moment, when the country is passing through a critical stage in its history. The loss is irreparable and the place vacated by the illustrious deceased should, like the places vacated by other leaders of his stamp, must remain unfilled for a long time to come. We convey our heartiest sympathy to the survivors of the deceased in the great bereavement they have suffered

The Liberal.

LOKAMANYA TILAK—THE MAKER OF MODERN INDIA

Lokamanya Tilak, the uncrowned King of the Maharashtra, nay of the whole India, the man of the masses is no more. He breathed his last on Saturday midnight at the Sirdargraha Bombay, having completed his 64th year on the 23rd ultimo. In the death of Mr B G Tilak, the nation has lost its best support and inspiration fighter and warrior. Tilak was the maker of modern India and will go down to posterity as such. He was able to wield his hold upon thousands of educated Indians and millions of masses by the sheer force of his patriotism sacrifice and suffering. He was an embodiment of Swaraj. He lived and fought for it with the insistence and tenaciousness that no one has and he died fighting for it to the last.

During the last two decades and more we have had no other leader with the exception of Mahatma Gandhi who has wielded his power and influence with the educated and the masses. Lokamanya Tilak's name, long before Mr Gandhi entered the active arena of politics, was a household word throughout the length and breadth of this continent. It was a terror and a red rag to the Anglo-Indian bully who considered Indians as a conquered and an inferior race for Lokamanya could never tolerate his countrymen being treated as of inferior status.

“ Home Rule is my birth-right and I will have it ” was not a mere saying with him, but was the ideal and the inspiration of every-moment of his life By his own example of fearlessness, persistent and unceasing work and long-suffering, Lokamanya justified his claim and established his right to Swaraj He had hoped to realise it in his lifetime If he did not, it is for us who remain behind, to realise it in the shortest period possible. The spirit of Lokamanya hovers about the country, it will not rest till his countrymen complete the mission of Swaraj that breathed through every nerve of his life and unto the end He watches us, let us work and pray.

The Liberal.

BAL GANGADHAR TILAK

The warrior has laid aside his armour and has passed to his rest. Bal Gangadhar Tilak has crossed the Borderland and passed on to the Beyond whence comes neither whisper nor message to the land of the living. On the 23rd July, 1920, he reached his 65th birthday, and in the first hour of the 1st of the current month he passed away after a brief spell of illness in the city of Bombay. Maharashtra has lost its uncrowned king, and India has lost one of its greatest and strongest leaders and

nation builders. To say that his death is an irreparable national loss fails to convey an adequate measure of the loss the country has sustained and yet our grief must be leavened by the knowledge that the full cycle of the work appointed to be done by the departed patriot has been rounded and the banner he held in the forefront of the nation's battle will be carried aloft by willing and eager hands till freedom's battle is won. For the rest the debt of Nature must be paid whenever the call comes and life is ever forfeit to death.

The time will come when history will assign to Tilak his proper place in the national movement in India. His was a great and complex personality. If the call of his country had not come to him, he would have taken high rank as an erudite-scholar with a great capacity for original research. As it is in spite of the distractions of strenuous political activity and repeated sufferings, he found time to write a number of books showing profound scholarship and striking original research. About no other national leader in India has there been such a sharp and striking conflict of opinion. There has been no other leader who inspired such intense personal devotion nor any leader who was so bitterly assailed by another section of his own countrymen. But as the national movement expanded he became the foremost national leader in India, who wielded as much influence in Bengal as in Bombay and whose

name was as potent in the Punjab as in Madras. In the usual course, if his heart had not been stirred by the needs of his country, he would have become a Judge of the Bombay High Court after a brilliant career as a practising lawyer. But his was a loftier and truer destiny, and after graduating in Arts and Law from the Bombay University he abandoned all desire for Government service, and with the help of a few coadjutors, struck out for himself a new path in life. With the help of his colleagues he established a new school at Poona, an institution which was followed by the launching of two newspapers, the *Mahratta* and the *Kesari*, which are a power in the land to-day. Latter on in 1884 followed the Deccan Education Society, and next year the Fergusson College came into existence. While associated with these manifold activities he took an active interest in politics and became a leader of the Indian National Congress. All this did not prevent him from working in other directions, and the work that he did during the severe famine that broke out in the Bombay Presidency in 1896 accounts for his unparalleled popularity with the humbler classes of his countrymen, who form the real nation. He went down to work among the humblest of his fellow-countrymen and they responded with an appreciation and an enthusiasm which filled the whole country with wonder.

And yet the crowning glory of his splendid life

was the series of sufferings which he had to undergo and which enhanced his unequalled prestige and influence throughout the length and breadth of India. As a journalist he was sentenced to simple imprisonment for four months, as a member of the Bombay Legislature he was tried on a charge of sedition and sentenced to imprisonment for eighteen months. And finally he was sentenced to transportation for six years on a charge of sedition commuted by the Government to simple imprisonment the sentence being served out at Mandalay. It was at the conclusion of that trial that Mr Tilak uttered the following memorable words. "In spite of the verdict of the Jury I maintain that I am innocent. There are higher powers that rule the destiny of things and it may be the will of Providence that the cause which I represent may prosper more by my suffering than by my remaining free." Judge and Jury have passed into oblivion but the man who became a convict by their judgment has now gone to the Pantheon of the immortals followed by the lamentations of a whole nation. The intrepid heroic and dauntless figure of Bal Gangadhar Tilak will stand for all time at the forefront of Indian Nationalism. Never was man more appropriately named than the great son of Mother India who has gone to his rest for even as the crescent moon adorns the forehead of Shiva so does Bal Gangadhar Tilak adorn the forehead of the Motherland.

THE PASSING OF BAL GANGADHAR TILAK—A MATCHLESS DEMONSTRATION.

Let us consider how the Fates ordained the passing of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the most heroic figure in India during a century and more. According to all ordinary understanding Mr Tilak should have died at Poona, when the call came to him as it comes to all. Nevertheless, he died at Bombay, where he came as a hale man and put up at the Sardar Griha, a Hindu Hotel close to the Crawford Market. It was characteristic of our hero and leader that while all the boundless hospitality of hospitable Bombay was always ready to welcome him with open arms his sturdy independence drove him to the accommodation of a hotel open to all and sundry. Well, the Fates drew him to Bombay for his final exit from the land which he had served so well and so truly amidst so much trial and suffering, in order that the world might witness a scene of which there is probably no parallel in history and which will be borne for all time in the annals of the history of India.

When it became known that Mr Tilak was seriously ill, the Sardar Griha was crowded by anxious callers and anxious crowds stood patiently on the street waiting for intelligence of the condition of the illustrious patient. Bulletins were issued every few minutes and were eagerly scanned by the

thousands waiting for news. The patient himself was cheerful throughout. In intervals of consciousness he spoke about the special session of the Congress. He jested with his medical attendants; he refused to give up the fight and maintained that he would live for another *lostrum*. Towards the end the bulletins were hopeful and the doctors confidently hoped that Mr. Tilak would pull through. They could not hear the beating of the wings of the angel of death; nor could they see his shadow crossing the threshold. The end came in peace. It was in the first hour of the morning of the day appointed for the India-wide hartal as a protest against the Turkish Treaty. The coincidence was remarkable. A day that had been already appointed for universal mourning dawned on a national mourning rarely witnessed in any country.

It was Sunday; it was the day of hartal. All shops in the city of Bombay were closed; not a victoria could be seen anywhere. With the rise of the sun an enormous crowd thronged the street in front of Sardar Griha and the approaches to it. On the balcony the body of Mr. Tilak was placed on an elevated chair in a sitting posture like a *San yasi*. The forehead was smeared with ashes and sandal wood paste and the body was covered with flowers. The reverent crowd standing in the street and on the pavement had a full view of the massive head and face with the repose and the peace of

death stamped upon it. All heads were lowered in reverence. Thousands of mill-hands were singing sacred songs. Women were almost as numerous as men. Special trains had arrived the day previous bringing hundreds of men and women from Poona. As the morning advanced, the entire wide street from the Crawford Market to Dhobi Talao was filled with a dense and seething mass of humanity. Practically all Bombay turned out to pay the last homage and tribute to the departed patriot and leader. The funeral procession was as impressive as it was unparalleled in point of numbers.

The body was placed in a sitting posture in a palanquin, and the procession following it extended over a mile and-a-half. Intense grief was visible on every face and every one was anxious to have a last glimpse of the most widely loved national leader India has ever known. By special permission the body was cremated on the sands at Chowpathy. The demonstration will be never forgotten by those who witnessed it, and it proved quite conclusively what a marvellous hold Bal Gangadhar Tilak had over the admiration, reverence and affection of his people.

The Liberal.

BAL GANGADHAR TILAK.

Mr Tilak is dead long live Mr Tilak —are the words that come spontaneously to our lips as we try to contemplate what the great Indian one of the greatest not only of his time and generation but of all times and all generations who has just been taken away from us, was in himself and what he stood for in that new India which he had made it his life's mission first to bring into existence, and then to carry forward step by step to its ultimate self fulfilment. For we cannot recall at this moment any instance of an Indian leader whether of the present or of any other generation who was more decidedly a national institution the embodiment of a creed a principle and a method in Indian politics rather than a mere individual than was Mr Tilak. What is known as Indian nationalism to day has had many votaries some as puissant in their way as Mr Tilak was in his, but none who had a greater or more indisputable claim to be called its Father. It is difficult to say if Mr Tilak himself was at first quite aware of his distinctive mission in this respect if in the earlier years of his association with the national movement in India he had full consciousness of the fact that while being in the Congress, as the Congress then was he was not exactly of it, in the sense in which most of the older leaders were of it that while in general and whole-hearted

agreement with their advocacy of reform, of justice, of progress, of equal opportunities for the Indian in India, and with their efforts to raise the status of their country, he from the first represented a somewhat different creed, a somewhat different set of principles, and a somewhat different method for the attainment of the goal which was fairly common-ground between him and other Congressmen. It was only as the weary fight went on and he gathered new experience and new allies that he began to realise the difference between himself and others more and more, until the time came first for the parting of company, and then for the capturing of that very machinery which had for years been used to float and keep him down and eventually to turn him and others of his way of thinking out of the Congress

It will be for the historian of the future to divide Mr Tilak's life into chapters and epochs, and to show how the tiny seed of the eighties grew into the mighty tree of to-day, what forces helped him and what obstruction he had to encounter and to overcome. For our present purpose it is enough to say that Mr Tilak's life was broadly divided into two main sections, one in which he was busy steadily preparing the ground for a more or less unknown destiny primarily in his own Province and in a subordinate degree, through his work in the Congress, in the country generally, the other in which

he suddenly and almost without knowing it found himself in the position of an All India leader holding a sway that grew more and more resistless until he became the undisputed leader of the most powerful party in the Congress and the country as he had for years been the uncrowned king of his own Province and people. The dividing line began with the agitation against the partition of Bengal with its adjuncts of Swadeshi and Boycott which for the first time revealed the country with its mighty potentialities to Mr Tilak and Mr Tilak himself to the country. It ended with the third and longest imprisonment which Mr Tilak had to suffer for his country and at the end of which he had the satisfaction of finding that the words with which he had received the verdict of the jury had turned out prophetic that the cause so dear to him had gained more by his suffering than it could possibly have done by his continued freedom, that the country was now fully prepared for the great voyage. Henceforth it was comparatively plain sailing not counting the abortive security proceedings and the order of exclusion from the Punjab and Delhi which reflected on the wisdom of the bureaucracy but entailed no actual suffering. In 1914 Mr Tilak returned from his exile. Within two years he came back to the Congress and the Congress-League scheme was adopted. Less than a year more and India had what is known as the August announcement

Yet another year, and she had the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme of Reforms. Then came a period of reaction such as not infrequently comes in the life of a great movement, when representatives of vested interests finding themselves confronted with the prospect of being ousted made a desperate bid for retaining their ancient hold or at any rate deferring the evil day, and the province where this reaction assumed its most terrible shape and form was the province from which Mr Tilak himself had been excluded two years before. But the reaction proved shortlived as it was bound to do, and only helped to bring the forces making for freedom and progress to greater prominence. Within nine months the Government of India Act was passed and the King issued a gracious Proclamation in which India was for the first time promised the fulness of political freedom. The part that Mr. Tilak played in all this is well known, but the part that was directly his was only a small portion of his actual achievements. What has to be remembered is that all this meant the triumph of nationalism, and it was Mr Tilak who had done more both to bring nationalism into existence and to make it the living and powerful force that it was than any other single individual.

Of his special contribution to the work of nation-building and of preparing the nation for that high destiny which it to-day confidently looks

forward to realising this is scarcely the time to write at any length. The loss of the beloved leader is too fresh for either those who were within his tabernacle or who while worshipping in the same temple belonged to a different tabernacle from his, to do complete justice to him. Still two assertions may be confidently hazarded. One great contribution of Mr Tilak was the attitude of stern independence that he took up from the first towards the bureaucracy the absolute freedom of speech that he preached and consistently practised and that gave him the unique distinction of being the one Indian leader who had suffered thrice for his country each time in a larger measure than on the preceding occasion. It was from the same fundamental source that there sprang that fearless advocacy of self help self reliance and Swadeshism in all its forms and shapes that made Mr Tilak so immense a power in the days of the anti partition agitation and that eventually culminated in the historic declaration of the Congress of 1906 presided over by India's Grand Old Man of revered memory in favour of Swaraj. The second and in a sense even more valuable service rendered by Mr Tilak lay in the fact that he was the first among the great Indian leaders who were his contemporaries to carry the message of the Congress, the gospel of the country's political deliverance to the masses of the people. Voltaire said of a famous contemporary of his that

humanity had lost its title-deeds and he had recovered them. One may similarly and with at least as much truth say of Mr. Tilak that the masses of the people in India had lost their title-deeds and it was Mr. Tilak who recovered them. At a time when almost all the older leaders were busy preparing the middle classes for the high destiny that was soon to be theirs, Mr. Tilak addressed himself directly to the people, partly through the *Kesari*, which wielded a power which no Indian journal has ever surpassed and few have equalled, and partly through his speeches. And no appeal ever evoked a wider or more enthusiastic response or bore more immediate fruit. Mr. Tilak at once became a power to reckon with, and from the time he founded the *Kesari* to the moment of his death there was no political leader in the country who had so immense a personal hold on the common people as Mr. Tilak had, primarily in the Maharashtra and, in a subordinate degree, everywhere. We do not forget the equally strong and universal hold of Mr. Gandhi just at this moment in certain parts of the country, but Mr. Gandhi owes this to his saintliness and his character generally and not to the fact of his being a political leader.

Many are the proofs that have been afforded of this wonderful popularity during Mr. Tilak's public life of forty years, and especially during the last quarter of a century. But no proof could be more

touching or could go more direct to one's heart than the universal sympathy and sorrow evoked by his second imprisonment. What a number of common people did on the occasion is well known and while no one will defend their excesses even the excesses show at once the intensity of the feeling evoked by what was believed to be an unjust incarceration and the strength of the love and esteem which they bore to the great leader. The feeling of the self-conscious part of India was expressed by India's trumpet voice, speaking in her greatest and most representative assembly. My heart goes forth to Mr Tilak in his prison home said Bahu Surendra Nath Bannerjee, for whom a nation is in tears. Nor could anything exceed the intense personal anxiety with which practically the whole nation had been watching by Mr Tilak's bedside during the illness that carried him away. For the three days before his death there was, we make bold to say no subject more anxiously or more universally talked about than his illness and now that he is dead, everybody feels that a shadow of universal gloom and sadness has fallen upon the country, the like of which it has seldom known and has certainly not known since the death of Gokhale. Yet it is no mere commonplace that a man like Mr Tilak does not and cannot die. What Disraeli said of Cobden is literally true of him. There are some members of Parliament, said the great statesman, who, though

they may not be present, are still members of this House, are independent of dissolutions, of the caprices of constituencies and even of the course of time." Who among us does not feel that Mr. Tilak is one of these men, not merely in the limited sphere of the Congress, which is India's unofficial Parliament, but in the wider life of Nationalist India as well? Who among us does not feel that as long as nationalism will remain, the strong and living force that it is to-day, and as long as the need for it will remain, so long will the memory of Mr. Tilak be worshipped as that of the man who did more for it than any one else, and so long will his spirit hover around us encouraging us where we need encouragement, admonishing us where there is room for admonition, and ever and in all cases inspiring us with something of his own sense of the loftiness of the task before us? He will not merely live in his work but in those he has left behind, and whose business it will be to carry that work forward from stage to stage until it reaches its heaven-appointed destiny.

The Tribune.

MR. TILAK AND THE ENSUING CONGRESS

In nothing is the inscrutableness of Providence more clearly shown than in the apparent disregard for our interests and our needs as we see them with which it removes from our midst the men whom we have been most accustomed to regard as indispensable. When among us expected that Mr Gokhale would be taken away at the time when his life work was about to bear fruit? And who expected even a week before his death that Mr Tilak would not be with us to lead his party and to lead the Congress in the momentous deliberations that are to take place at the Special Session? Many indeed were in favour of his being called to the presidential chair and it is a well known fact that every member of our own Provincial Congress Committee present at its recent meeting except one voted for Mr Tilak not because they did not recognise the present claims of Lala Lajpat Rai but because they were of opinion that Lala Lajpat Rai might more fittingly preside over the annual session. But whether as president or as the most distinguished leader of his party, everybody expected that Mr Tilak would take a leading and conspicuous part in the discussion and that his attitude would be a decisive factor on this occasion, as it had been so often before. And yet this is the moment which destiny has chosen to

deprive us of the clear and strong lead of the veteran, whose ripe judgment, stern and practical commonsense and absolutely unselfish patriotism had long been regarded as the most priceless asset of his party, and one of the most valuable possessions of his country !

The Tribune.

MR. TILAK AND POLITICS

We have in our leading article had something to say about Mr Tilak's unique contribution both to nation-building and to growth of nationalism as a strong, living and irresistible force. It remains only to add that this contribution is the outcome of a great and powerful mind which would have made its mark and won for its possessor a distinction of the highest order, in whichever of the three or four walks of life for which nature had pre-eminently fitted him he might have chosen to tread. He might have become a great educationist, a great lawyer, a great Oriental scholar, and a great writer on philosophical and ethical subjects, just or almost as easily as he did become a political leader of the first rank. As a matter of fact he was a combination of all these, though in none of the several spheres, except perhaps as an Oriental scholar, he attained the highest rank. He began as an educationist, and

it is to him as well as to some of his colleagues that we owe the existence first, of the Deccan Education Society and then of the Fergusson College. As a lawyer he showed remarkable aptitude and keenness almost throughout his active life and never more clearly or to greater purpose than in connection with his second prosecution for sedition when he defended himself with an ability which won unqualified admiration even from his detractors. As an Oriental scholar his *Orion* and "Arctic Home" which have won world wide reputation will for ever bear testimony to his high powers. Lastly his great book on the *Gita* which is no mere commentary but an original work shows that he possessed powers of philosophical analysis and reasoning which if given proper play and latitude would have won for him a pre-eminent place in this department of activity. And it is certain that in several of these departments he might if he had liked have amassed a fortune. But he cared nothing for fortune. His single predominant passion was for the welfare and the freedom of his country and it was as much by preference as by instinct that he was drawn to politics as the central sphere of his activity. It is, indeed a highly significant fact that two of the three works (apart from his supreme political work) that will for ever immortalise him were written while he was in prison and thus deprived of the opportunity of doing political work.

The Tribune

MR. TILAK AS A LEADER

In reviewing the life and the life-work of Mr. Tilak nothing strikes one more forcibly than the fact that he won his way to popularity in none of the several ways in which so many of the successful leaders of modern India have won theirs. These have owed their popularity, as Mr. Arabinda Ghose points out in an admirable appreciation contributed by him to a volume of Mr. Tilak's speeches, to wealth, great social position, professional success, recognition by Government, a power of fervid oratory or of fluent and taking speech. Mr. Tilak had none of these. He owed his influence and his power simply to his passionate love of country, his indomitable courage and absolute fearlessness, his readiness to undergo any amount of sacrifice and suffering for the good of his country, his commanding intellect, his masculine love of freedom and justice, his strong judgment and his penetrating commonsense. As a speaker he avoided rhetoric as carefully as any one could, but he was none the less effective for that. There never was a man who excelled him in the art of calling a spade a spade. When his mind was made up, he would not resort to any circumlocutory process but would speak out directly what and all that was in his mind. And he would speak it out in the way that would appeal most to his readers and his hearers, being a plain

appeal either to their understanding or to their heart, very often to both. In mere power of exposition he was not equal to Gokhale nor had he the literary polish and lucidity of the latter. But then Gokhale lost something in the estimation of the common people by his very attempt to adapt his reasoning and his style to the taste of the hureancrazy. Mr Tilak never tried this art. He had no soft corner in his heart for any hureancrat and he never hesitated to say what he thought ought to be said in the bluntest and most direct form of speech that could possibly be employed for the purpose.

The Tribune.

MR. TILAK'S MAGNANIMITY

Those who are accustomed to think that Mr Tilak was a violent partisan would do well to remember that partisanship never carried him so far as to make him blind to his adversary's merits. There was no political leader with perhaps the single exception of Sir PherozeSha Mehta with whom Mr Tilak carried on a more ceaseless war than he did with his illustrious contemporary and rival Mr Gokhale. And yet when Mr Gokhale died Mr Tilak made a funeral oration than which nothing greater is recorded in the annals of political magnanimity. Addressing the funeral procession

he said :—" This is not a time for cheers. This is a time for shedding tears. This is a time for expressing sorrow for the irreparable loss which we have sustained by the death of Mr. Gokhale. This diamond of India, this jewel of Maharashtra, this prince of workers is taking eternal rest on the funeral grounds. Look at him and try to emulate him. . . . Like a triumphant hero he is passing away after having satisfactorily done his work and made his name immortal. Not only none of you here assembled, but no other citizen in India will be able to give so satisfactory an account in the other world of having done his duty to the motherland." One can only hope that those who did stout battle with Mr Tilak himself while he lived will have the same magnanimity that Mr. Tilak exhibited on this occasion and will have the courage and fairness to acknowledge his priceless services to the country .

The Tribune.

THE LAHORE MEETING.

Some idea of the hold which Mr Tilak had upon the public mind of this province, for which Sir Michael O'Dwyer thought that Mr. Tilak's speeches were too strong meat, may be formed from the fact that within a few hours of the arrival of the sad

oews a public meeting was held in the Bradlaugh Hall under the auspices of the Home Rule League to mourn the death of the illustrious patriot. The notice was naturally very short in fact, we have been told that it was only three hours and yet the meeting was one of the most crowded ever held in the Bradlaugh Hall and almost every public man of any note present in the city took part in this demonstration of national sorrow. Of course this required some effort at organisation and for this credit is due to the energetic Secretary and Assistant Secretary of the League. But no amount of organisation could have made the meeting the success it was if it had not been for the spontaneous outburst of national sorrow of which the meeting was the outcome. All the speeches made on the occasion were pitched to the key the key of profound sorrow for the country a irreparable loss, and of admiration and respect, bordering on reverence, for the great qualities of head and heart that distinguished the departed leader and enabled him to work the miracle he did in the brief space of less than a quarter of a century which constituted the most fruitful part of his life.

The Tribune,

AN IRREPARABLE LOSS

Whenever a man who has made himself specially conspicuous in any department of national or

human activity, is taken away from the scene of his labours, it is usual for those he leaves behind to say that the loss is irreparable. In many cases this particular mode of expressing regret is only conventional. In some the loss, far from being irreparable, is not even keenly felt. The case of Mr. Tilak belongs to a wholly different category. It is difficult to recall any other instance in recent Indian history in which the loss caused by the death of a political leader was so truly irreparable as in this case. Dadabhai Naoroji had for years ceased to live as an active political leader before he actually left us. W. C. Bonnerjee and Ananda Mohan Bose continued to live in one who was in some respects even greater than either of them, and who is happily still left to us—the great Surendranath. Ranade and Pherozeshah Mehta continued to live, if only partially, in Chandavarkar, Wacha and the illustrious Gokhale. Gokhale himself did not leave either the country or his own wing of the national party without a leader. His exact place, especially in the Indian Legislative Council, still remains vacant—which, we believe, is more or less true of the exact place of every man of his patent stamp—but otherwise his mantle has fallen upon worthy shoulders. Who is there in the country to-day to take the place of Bal Gangadhar Tilak?

In Maharashtra itself, where he had for nearly a quarter of a century been the uncrowned king,

there is literally no other man who can be placed even as second to Mr Tilak. Nor clearly is there any one to replace him in that wing of the Nationalist party in the country as a whole which is at present the largest numerically as well as the most powerful and of which he was an undisputed All-India leader. Bipin Chandra Pal and C. R. Das in Bengal, Moti Lal Nehru in the United Provinces, Vijayaraghava Chariar and Kasturiranga Iyengar in Madras, Hassan Imam in Behar, M. A. Jinnah and V. J. Patel in Bombay and a few others, one could name are all honoured names and it is difficult to say if in their respective spheres their power as party leaders has now for years been second to that of any one else, not excepting Mr Tilak himself. But it is no disparagement of any of them to say that, apart from the influence which all of them generally and some of them in particular wield wherever nationalism is a living force, their actual leadership except in one or two cases, has been confined to a restricted area. It is at least certain that none of them ever attained the height of undisputed leadership that was Mr Tilak's. Mrs. Besant had the same eminent position for a time, but at present her leadership again apart from the influence she naturally wields by reason of her great powers and her unique devotion to the interests of India is confined to a comparatively small area, not geographically but numerically. There was one

man who judging from the eminence he attained within the short time he took a prominent part in Indian politics, 'could probably have taken Mr. Tilak's place to-day, had he still been an active worker. We refer, of course, to Mr. Arabindo Ghosh who, both by his intellectual equipment as well as by his passionate patriotism, his matchless devotion to ideals, and his remarkable powers of sacrifice and suffering was pre-eminently fitted to occupy the highest place among any group of ardent political workers into whose society he might be thrown. But he is no longer in British India, and it is not known if he has any intention of coming back either now or in the near future. We have purposely refrained from referring to Mr. Gandhi, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and Lala Lajpat Rai, because all of them have declared themselves to be more or less non-party men, and for that reason, if for no other, are not likely to wield that power in the advanced wing of the Nationalist party, which Mr. Tilak enjoyed in so abundant a measure. Lala Lajpat Rai has only recently returned to his country after an absence of six years, and his exact place in the present Nationalist party outside his own Province is yet to be determined ; and as regards the other two, one of whom at present occupies a place in our public life second to that of no other man, whether of this or of any other generation, and both of whom are leaders of the first rank, any

one who has been present at a session of the Congress during the last two years knows that the young and ardent Nationalists, who constitute the majority though they are prepared to give their respect and reverence to them in an unlimited measure are not exactly prepared to follow their lead as against that of their own trusted party leaders. Thus look in whatever direction you like, North South East or West Mr Tilak's death has left a void which is not likely to be filled up—at least for some time.

Yet there never was a time when it was more necessary in the truest interests of the country that the advanced wing of the National party should remain united under strong and capable leadership. Even with Mr Tilak still in our midst and still exercising a more or less undisputed sway as an all India leader of the party signs were not wholly wanting of a tendency towards division. The Home Rule League, which came into existence to promote the solidarity of the party and by means of united propagandist work, to hasten the advent of complete Responsible Government, itself stands divided to-day into as many as three separate bodies. Ardent nationalists in at least one Province have made no secret of their view that Mr Tilak himself was not advanced enough for them. And these instances may be multiplied. What will happen now that even Mr Tilak is gone? Whose general lead are

they to follow at the Special Congress itself, which is to be held only a month hence, and at which some of the most momentous questions that have ever occupied the attention of the Congress will come up for discussion and decision? Is the party as a whole to have no united plan, and is the voting to go according to the individual predilections of the delegates or groups of delegates? And the problem of the Special Congress, after all, only symbolises the wider problems that will arise after the Special Congress, the problems of how the Reforms are to be worked, and how the agitation for complete Responsible Government is to be organised and carried on in both India and England

When one looks at the matter in this light and contemplates the immensity of the task before the country, one is apt, unless one is strong in faith, to be filled with despair at the thought that at so critical a moment in the history of the country, it should be deprived of the services of the one man who could have done most both to keep his own party together and to make it an instrument of good for the country as a whole. Yet let us not give way to despondency. Even the greatest of losses is not without a compensating advantage, and the self-protecting elements of society may be depended upon to prevent any really useful organisation from being dissolved or getting weaker merely because an individual, no matter how high

might be his place has been removed. Even the birth and death of great men is not independent of social and sociological laws and in the present case it is easy to see at least one advantage. The towering personality of Tilak overshadowed all humbler, but still useful personalities in Maharashtra itself and the existence of an All India leader of more or less undisputed authority probably did something at least in some cases to stunt the growth of capable and self-reliant local leadership. In the future the several groups of Nationalists in the different provinces may be trusted to become stronger and more autonomous units of a united party which may or may not have one single All India leader in the old sense, but which it may be hoped will not be without All India leadership itself when and to the extent that All India leadership may be needed, both for its own purpose and for that of the country.

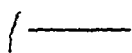
The Tribune.

THE SUDDENNESS OF THE BLOW

How suddenly and unexpectedly the blow that has plunged the whole of India into mourning fell upon the country may be judged from the fact that even a week ago no one knew anything about Mr

Tilak's illness, and wherever the Congress was a subject of talk, the prediction was confidently made that Mr. Tilak would be called to the presidential chair at Nagpur. And even when the report of the illness came to be published in the papers, nobody really thought that the end was so near. Indeed so lately as at 6 p. m. on the very day on which Mr. Tilak died, a telegram was despatched to the Press from Bombay saying that the doctors were "more hopeful." The *Bombay Chronicle* of the same day also contained the welcome statement that Mr. Tilak's health had shown signs of improvement since the morning of the previous day, and that the doctors stated that "there was every hope of his feeling much better within a couple of days." Never was the truth of the popular saying, "It is the unexpected that usually happens," more signally illustrated.

The Tribune.



THE DEATH AND AFTER.

But if the death was to come, it was infinitely better that it should come in the particular way in which it came than in any other. The great leader, who had always led an ideal family life, died in the bosom of his family, surrounded by his sons and daughters, his intimate friends and lifelong associates, who had gathered round him during the days

of his illness. It was equally in the fitness of things that he, to whom the life of action had always been infinitely more fascinating than the life of contemplation should have died with one of the most immortal of all texts in the most immortal of all Hindu scriptures on his lips—a scripture in which he had himself written a commentary with the specific object of showing that it placed the life of action above the life of devotion or of contemplation. And if the death was thus the most enviable of all deaths what happened after the death was equally enviable. The death took place not at Poona the centre and the headquarters of all his activities, but at Bombay which until recently had been regarded as a stronghold of the Moderate party. Yet the funeral that took place is said to have surpassed in solemnity and grandeur all previous occasions of a similar character not excepting those associated with the names of Dadabhai Naoroji and Pherozesha Mehta. Nearly half the adult population of the city not excluding women are said to have participated in the function in one way or another and the funeral procession itself was not only one of the largest and most imposing but one of the most representative ever witnessed in the city. To crown all the spirit of the gathering was wholly democratic, the highest millinnaries of the city walking side by side with workmen in their working clothes, all bare-headed. Nothing could

have been more appropriate. A living embodiment of democratic ideals as long as he was with us, no form of funeral could have been more grateful to Mr. Tilak's departed spirit.

The Tribune.

POLITICAL MAGNANIMITY.

In a recent issue we expressed the hope that following the excellent example set by Mr Tilak on the death of Mr. Gokhale, his own political opponents would forget their differences with him and would pay that tribute to his memory which he so eminently deserved. So far as Mr. Tilak's Indian opponents are concerned, the hope has been abundantly fulfilled. There were no two organs of Indian opinion with which Mr Tilak had been more constantly at war than the *Bengalee* and the *Leader*. Both these journals have written excellent obituary notices of him, and the obituary notice published by the latter journal is one of the finest we have seen so far. Among public men and public women, there was no one with whom during the closing months of his life Mr. Tilak had been on worse terms than with Mrs. Besant whom, of course, we regard, and have always regarded, as an Indian, because she is every inch one. Yet this is what she writes — "India has lost one of her greatest sons

ere yet his life-work is finished. Love for the motherland was the supreme motive of his life dominating all his thoughts and activities. Fear was unknown to him and self-sabnegation for India's sake was his greatest characteristic. Mr. Gandhi though in no sense an opponent had more than one round with Mr. Tilak. And this is what he says — Love of India was the breath of life with Mr. Tilak, and in it he has left to us a treasure which can only increase by use. The endless procession of yesterday shows the hold the great patriot had on the masses. Mr. Natarajan of the *Indian Social Reformer* is one of those of whom it can be said with perfect truth that he did stout battle with the illustrious deceased as long as he was with us, and we have the following fine appreciation of Mr. Tilak from him — A man of towering intellect dauntless courage and unspotted private life, in any free country he would have risen to the highest position in the State and been among its strongest bulwarks. He will be gratefully remembered by his countrymen for teaching them to stand upright. Similarly Mr. C. Y. Chintamani interviewed by the *Bombay Chronicle's* Allahabad representative said — 'Mr. Tilak will be remembered by generations of Indians as an uncommon example of persistent public spirit undaunted courage unyielding tenacity of purpose triumphing over suffering the fatality of repression by Government as a means of

suppressing public men, rare intellectual gifts and an invincible determination to win freedom. In many ways Mr. Tilak was the most striking personality of the present day in India, with the only exception of Mr. Gandhi and was endowed in a rich measure with the qualities of leadership " This is very generous, indeed, considering that Mr. Chintamani's own political opinions differed almost as much from Mr. Tilak's as they do from Mr. Gandhi's. Mr. Paranjpye is another worthy son of India with whom Mr. Tilak never agreed and who came into actual conflict with him during his closing years. " India," says Mr. Paranjpye, " has lost in Mr. Tilak a great son whose great intellect, sacrifice and devotion to the country, even enemies acknowledge " Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal was not an opponent, but a life-long ally, but no regular reader of their respective organs needs to be told that their personal relations during the last few months were somewhat strained This, however, has not prevented Mr. Pal, any more than differences of a more fundamental character have done in other cases, from offering his tribute of unstinted praise and admiration to the departed great, and from describing the loss caused to Indian nationalism by his passing away from its leadership as irremediable "

It is far different with Mr. Tilak's Anglo-Indian opponents. Not one of them has, so far as we are aware, been able to rise to the occasion, though one

or two like the *Englishman* of Calcutta have just made an attempt to do so. The two who have made themselves conspicuous, above all others by the virulence of their attack upon the illustrious dead are the *Times of India* and the *Statesman* of Calcutta. The *Times* begins by saying that because we are hidden to say nothing of the dead that is not good and because it cannot say much of Mr Tilak's political career that is good it prefers to say little. But it has scarcely written half a-dozen lines when it forgets its promise and makes a violent diatribe against a man whose loss is still fresh. The *Statesman* begins by generously admitting that Mr Tilak was undoubtedly a man of great abilities of commanding personality and of volcanic energy and that if he had chosen to devote these gifts to the constructive work to which Mr Gokhale and Sir Pherozesha Mehta dedicated their lives, he might have achieved greater things than either or both of them. But this is only a prelude to an attack upon the great leader which it is impossible to surpass either in unreason or in violence. It would be interesting to know by the way what opportunities either Mr Gokhale or Sir Pherozeshah had for constructive work in the domain of national affairs, and on how many occasions during their life time the *Statesman* itself bore testimony to their constructive genius. It is indeed the literal truth to say that Anglo Indian recognition

of the worth and achievement of these two illustrious leaders has been principally, if not solely, posthumous, except in one single region, and that is in respect of their opposition to what they, like Anglo-Indians, were pleased to call extremism.

The Tribune.

BAL GANGADHAR TILAK.

The death of Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak removes a great figure from Indian politics. For a quarter of a century and more, he had been the ideal of his followers and the dread of his opponents. Of Government he had been an unrelenting and consistent foe except during his stay in England, during which he scandalised young Indians by his studied moderation of tone. It is no wonder, seeing how he had to undergo State prosecutions more than once which left his fortune more than once in utter ruin. The wonder is, he rebuilt his fortunes with celerity and was ready to sacrifice them again. Clear-sighted and tenacious, he kept an eye on India's freedom, and would not rest or let Government rest till it should be won. Concessions and reforms he would take, for they only added to the strength of the people, but he would not have them be too thankful or contended while the end was still far-off. Audacious in the beginning alike in aim and plan, he

showed the true caution of the Mahratta in late life when he disavowed the suicidal policy of rejecting the Reforms or abandoning the constitutional position gained. By training, if not also by nature, he seemed more fitted to be in opposition than to hold the reins of Government. But the political manifesto which he drew up a few weeks ago proves that many measures for amelioration of the condition of the people lay near his heart, and there is no need to doubt what he would have advised his followers to do if they should come into power. Bold he was and willing to take risks but he was wary withal and liked to test the ground of battle before he ventured on it. Left to himself he would never break the law openly and invite its rigorous like Mr. Gandhi. Neither is it possible to conceive that he would like Mr. Gandhi throw down the gauntlet to Government and all unarmed, take the vow of victory or death. His foremost intellectual quality was an alertness which bordered on restlessness. He must be wrestling with some difficulty or other. Even in confinement his mind was occupied with problems of the philosophic or antiquarian interest. Whether his speculations will stand the test of the scholar's scrutiny remains to be seen but no one questions their quality of daring. There are those who lament his choices in life as a grievous error, for politics in the present conditions of India could not gain all that research lost. One

has heard of English politicians of mark who, after an interview or two with Mr. Tilak, have given him a place among the greatest minds they have known. Disputants have testified that he was master of all the arts of controversy. Towards these he seldom showed tenderness, as he certainly expected none from them. He was trained in a hardy school. If he was not the founder, he was the most powerful exponent of virile journalism in the vernacular. As he made Marathi an apt vehicle of his shrewdness and subtlety, so he gave polemics in the Deccan its strength as well as its weakness, its bold sweep, its undying aspiration, its elusiveness, its unrefined directness. Affable and kindly in private life and trusted in an amazing degree by his followers, he could move with perfect ease only in an orbit of his own and could not enter into any but temporary alliances with other leaders of political thought. He seemed to thrive on disputation. The hostilities he had with Ranade, Agarkar, Mehta and Gokhale ended only with their death. Each of these had the stuff in him of which greatness is made and proved his mettle against Mr. Tilak's relentless polemic. The good points of his rivals, he could appreciate them fully when he cared. Some one some day will draw comparison and contrast between Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Tilak. If it is done properly, it will be a valuable key to the politics of the Deccan during the last twenty or twenty-five years. Mr.

Gokhale, who had a rare gift of seeing the true quality of his rivals used to say that Mr Tilak was born out of his time and that his genius would have found congenial scope a century or so ago. Like most generalisations this would require qualifications before it could be made to fit in exactly with the facts. But there is no doubt that Mr Tilak's forceful and combative personality had but small room for those qualities of sagacious counsel, cosmopolitan sympathy and persuasive eloquence that are the indispensable marks of a leader of men suited to the eve of a democratic regime. It was the example of Mr Tilak that first drew Mr Gokhale to the service of the Deccan Education Society. But the spell did not last long. Differences of character and temperament first made and then widened a gulf between them. Towards the end of Mr Ranade's life and more markedly after that event, they stood in the Deccan at the head of opposite schools of thought whom events often threw into active rivalry. Not in politics alone, but in the ethics of public life, in social reform in educational ideals, in attitude towards Government and the British race generally they were as wide apart as the poles. Each recognised however, the burning patriotism of the other. Both loved the people and made sacrifices in their service. But how diverse their paths? The one passed through suspicion from Government and from people to the

pinnacle of fame when he died, honoured and lamented by both. The other ended as he began, the enemy of Government and the victim of its wrath, but the idol of his countrymen. This is not the occasion to examine Mr. Tilak's principles, review his particular deeds or appraise his services as a whole. A critical study of these must disclose errors as well as merits, failure as well as achievement, occasion for censure as well as for praise. But none can deny that he had great qualities or that he played a great part. To found vernacular journalism, to lose and recover his fortune more than once, to dare the wrath of a Government and go to jail with the crown of the martyr, to write original books, to dominate political activity for a generation in a large part of the country and leave a numerous and well-knit party behind—these constitute an indefeasible title to the honour and loving recollection of his countrymen.

The Servant of India

PARNELL OF INDIAN NATIONALISM.

Bal Gangadhar Tilak was an institution. He stood for an idea more than any other individual of recent years except Mr. Gandhi. Round his personality gathered forces representing a school of thought. To a certain extent he was the Parnell of Indian

politics. And in his death disappears one of the land marks of modern India. He was a typical Mahratta in all the strength and all the weakness of that great community. His principal quality came into relief even when he was a student at college. To him authority was never sacrosanct. It was particularly galling to his proud and defiant nature that it was exercised by a foreign race in his beloved native land. Living in the capital of the kingdom built up—and lost—by his forefathers, with all the scenes of former struggles and former greatness round him and endowed with a dynamic force of character he never could reconcile himself to the tame and inglorious life of a subject nationality. He was not the man to accept the logic of accomplished facts. He did not appreciate the mentality of advocates of progress and reform who were content with a steady and gradual amelioration of existing conditions being conscious of the persistence of antecedent evils which had to be effectually remedied. Indians were free before why could they not be now whatever special and other conditions might be lent for the selfishness of the rules and the lethargy of the people? An intensive political struggle was all that was necessary. If it led to friction let it so much the better. The line of least resistance was the fetish of indolent natures unwilling to make sacrifices or bear suffering. To be militant to embarrass the agency that imposed

order from without in the unhallowed interest of a people alien to the land and concerned only to exploit India's resources and to perpetuate her subjection, to wrest reform from their reluctant hands, to force them to surrender to an irresistible national will, to make with them no terms which, while gaining small concessions, might delay the day of redemption,—this was his practical political philosophy and the code of conduct which he inculcated as well as practised.

The Leader.

THE NATIONAL AWAKENER.

There might be difference of opinion with some of Mr Tilak's views, but it is acknowledged on all hands that it was Mr Tilak who never retraced his steps in teaching the *Mantras* of salvation by Swarajya. He has left behind him his great message and roused a national awakening in the country.

The Hindustan.

SCHOLAR-STATESMAN

One of the greatest achievements of the Maratha hero was his cultivated contempt for penalties

inflicted by the state on a people impatient of foreign yoke. That that yoke was easy and might have been infinitely heavier did not matter to the founder of the influential political school of the Tilakites. Apart from statecraft and unmatched intrepidity and perseverance, which were unsurpassed in the pursuit of political advancement Mr Tilak possessed superlative scholarship. We differ from some of the axioms of this great son of India but we cannot forbear homage to his erudite genius. That the degree of LL.D. was not offered to him by the Bombay University is an indelible disgrace to the latter. In honouring this man of learning it could have exalted itself.

The Jame Jamshed

MAN OF PURE LIFE

Alas at this time when Tilak is so badly needed he is gone to his everlasting rest. Till almost the last days of his pure life, he worked and worked well and patriotically for the country he loved so well and of which he was so distinguished and patriotic a son. Tilak is dead but his spirit lives and to-day there are in India millions who are ready to carry the torch that he primarily lit in Maharashtra. His name, his work his exertions,

his sufferings are written deep in the history of this great country. India will lose memory itself, before the memory of Tilak and all that he was and did can be obliterated from India's tablet of memory. 'Sleep, noble son, India's work just commences. We will miss thee But the inspiration of thy name and the example of thy work will be the guiding light for those who will work for India and India's cause.'

The Sanji Vartaman.

A NOBLE HERO.

In the death of the late Mr. Tilak, Maharashtra has lost its uncrowned king, India her great patriot and the nation its noble hero. He was a literary man of the first rate and his literary talents were recognised by eminent Western scholars Mr Tilak had to suffer immeasurably on account of his political efforts to awaken a slumbering nation. But his efforts are not wasted, and the cry of Swarajya that rings in the whole country to-day owes not a little to them It is a misfortune, however, that he was removed from us at a time when his presence was most badly needed

The Bombay Samachar.

THE STORM CENTRE OF INDIAN POLITICS

His character and career were essentially different from those of the political dilettanti, excursionists and adventurers by whom the stage of Indian politics is crowded and confused. He was the storm-centre of Indian politics and he gave immense trouble to the authorities. But he underwent immense suffering and sacrifice himself in the pursuit of ends which were public and not personal. Even his worst enemy will hesitate to deny that he devoted his whole life to the service of his country as he conceived it. Whatever the practical result of his labours, his great and strenuous career has been the most powerful political stimulant and education to awakening India. In the pursuit of his goal he spared neither himself nor his adversaries and now after a lifetime of toil, suffering and struggle, his mighty and turbulent spirit has found its first quiet in death.

The Prajamitra and Parsi

GREATNESS AND MAGNANIMITY OF THE MAN

It is not easy for an English critic, bearing in mind the excellent maxim *nil nisi bonum de*

mortuis," to write an obituary notice of the late Mr. Tilak. His career is associated with deplorable incidents which leave bitter memories behind them, and there can be few Englishmen in India who can pretend to have cause to regard him as other than an unrelenting enemy. Nevertheless, it would be idle to deny the greatness and the magnetic personality of a man who, wherever he went, was hailed by Indians of all classes as their leader. Whether Mr. Tilak would have continued to maintain this predominance in the cleavage of political parties wrought by the Reforms is doubtful. There were signs that his political sagacity no longer passed everywhere as current coin, and the last session of the National Congress served to emphasise this falling away of allegiance. The inauguration of the Reforms, indeed, may be said to have discovered the weak joints in Mr. Tilak's harness. More practical men stepped in and took Mr. Montagu's scheme for what it was worth, appreciating that it was the best they could get. Mr. Tilak's attitude was that of a man who had no policy. There was first of all the indecision whether he and his colleagues would boycott the Joint Committee; then, when it was realised that their absence from the witness-chair would make no difference, there was the uncompromising evidence which has been fairly claimed to have done more than anything else to limit Mr. Montagu's boons. Even when the Bill had become

law there was an ambiguity about Mr Tilak's utterances which left it an open question how far he was for making or marring the measure. The truth was that Mr Tilak's genius lay rather in agitation than in practical politics.

His political creed as stated to an English journalist, explains his limitation — It is not by our purpose, but by our methods only he said 'that our Party has earned the name of Extremist. Certainly there is a very small party which talks about abolishing the British rule at once and completely. That does not concern us it is much too far in the future. Our remote ideal is a confederacy of the Indian provinces possessing Colonial Self Government with all Imperial questions set apart for the Central Government in England. Perhaps our Home Rule would take the form of Provincial Councils of fifty or sixty members nominated or indirectly elected at first but elected by popular vote as education became more general. But that ideal also is far ahead of us—perhaps generations ahead. What we aim at doing now is to bring pressure on the bureaucracy to make it feel that all is not well. Mr Tilak's ideal or at least a considerable instalment of it came sooner than he expected and found him still only equipped for tilting at the bureaucracy. His political activities have rather obscured his considerable literary achievements. He was a ripe scholar and his

research work into the antiquity of the Vedas won the warm praise of Orientalists. The son of an Inspector of Education, Mr. Tilak started his career as an educationist. He quickly developed a journalistic bent, his newspapers, the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*, being started contemporaneously with the New English School at Poona. The School became a College, afterwards the Ferguson College, and Mr. Tilak undertook a Professorship. Law also claimed his attention; but gradually he was drawn into politics, and it is as a politician that he has been before the public for the last thirty years of a rather more than less stormy life. He had at the time of his death passed his 64th birthday

The Madras Mail

WAS INDEED A LEADER

By the death of Mr. Tilak a vital force in Indian politics has passed away. His virility and ingenuity placed him for many years in the very front rank of Indian leaders. His opinions were at one time considered extreme, and there can be no stronger proof of the rapidity with which events have recently moved in India than the fact that in his last days Mr. Tilak came to be numbered with the Moderates rather than with the party of which he can be considered to be the actual founder. It is true

that he never cut off his connection with the Congress but he was certainly amongst the few who refused to bend the knee to Mr Gandhi and his intolerance of the suggestions of the Khilafat people was undisguised. Mr Tilak, indeed, was a leader and it was impossible for him, aware of his own capacity to follow in the footsteps of others. Although at times when in some sportive mood he desired to annoy the Mahatmas, who make a posture of sincerity, he would talk about the necessity of duplicity in politics, he himself was very far from pursuing a tortuous course. His views about the Government of India are well known. There may have been a time when he believed that the British connection should cease altogether but recently he has not been numbered amongst the men who think it ought to cease at once and are working to that end. If for this reason alone his death is to be deplored, even by those who a few years ago placed him amongst the most implacable enemies of British rule in India.

The Englishman

A MAN OF KEEN INTELLECT

There will be many an appreciation of Tilak from the Indian standpoint. From the Anglo-Indian angle of vision his political lineaments and

career necessarily appear less attractive. A man of keen intellect, with a great power of popular appeal, he came into constant conflict with the British Administration, and was never very scrupulous in his methods of attacks. But like many other extremist leaders, somewhat to his own undoing, he combined political opportunism with social ideals which were hopelessly reactionary. Undoubtedly his demise is a grave loss to the Nationalist forces. He opposed Non-Co-operation, not because he loved India less, but because he loved real politics more. Even Tilak could not stomach the Gandhī Specific, and we may set that fact down to his political shrewdness, though not to his goodwill. *De mortuis nil nisi bonum*. Tilak is dead, and "he that dies pays all debts."

The Madras Times.

IDOL OF THE NATION

Mr Tilak's death will be widely mourned not only by his own countrymen but by the educated world at large, for whatever differences of opinion may exist as to his political principles, there is no gainsaying the fact that during his lifetime, he made valued and substantial contribution to the domain of thought. His Vedic researches earned for him a European reputation and will be always

looked upon as enduring monuments of a laborious life. And his countrymen with legitimate pride will claim them as a precious national heritage. In politics Mr Tilak was always ahead of his contemporaries. Once a Congressman of the old school he far outstripped his colleagues in no time and at Surat in 1907 he measured his strength with them and came out victorious. His whilom colleagues condemned his action as iconoclastic while his followers called it infusion of new blood into the national gathering. Whether his action was right or wrong it is for posterity to judge. For India is at the present moment passing through a period of transition and it is too early yet to form any correct opinion. But one fact must not be overlooked. The party which he called into being commanded and still commands the largest following. If numerical strength is any test, Mr Tilak had the backing of the bulk of his countrymen. In fact in Poona and in most places in India he was the idol of the nation. "Lok Mahya" (universally revered) Tilak was revered everywhere and we believe even his political opponents will acknowledge his unique personality. In 1896 when he was imprisoned for 'want of affection' towards the Government, all India in a man went into mourning and in 1897 the Congress of those days recorded a strongly worded resolution of protest against the incarceration of such a man. Mr Surendranath Banerjea made one

of his most eloquent speeches in moving the resolution and the pandal rang and rerang with cheers when he referred to Mr. Tilak's prison-home. "Our hearts go out to Mr. Tilak in his prison-home," he exclaimed and the Congress echoed the Bengalee orator with all its might. But those days were to vanish soon to give place to estrangement. But that is always the case in politics. Friends and comrades of to-day suddenly become transformed into the bitterest of foes the next day. But this transformation very seldom stands in the way of personal admiration and, we have no doubt, Mr. Tilak's political opponents to-day will hasten to offer the tribute of their overflowing hearts to one with whom they disagreed but whom they adored none the less. The telegrams tell us that the news of his death spread like wild fire and everybody is sorry. In Calcutta the same feeling is quite manifest. Yesterday afternoon anxious enquiries were made at our office—a sure index to the popularity of the man—to the high regard in which he was held. India very properly mourns Mr. Tilak's death to-day and India has our hearty sympathy. Mr. Tilak was a great Indian with a towering personality.

The Daily News.

SCHOLAR AND POLITICIAN

The death of Mr Tilak removes a striking and dominating figure from the politics of India. His career was one of extraordinary vicissitudes, and he was almost at all times under the suspicious regard of the Indian Government. Bal Gangadhar Tilak was a Mahratta, a member of the brilliant race which was the last to hold extended sway in India before the advent of the British.

He was a Brahmin, a scholar, a lawyer, a leader of men, a journalist, and in this country he was chiefly known as an agitator.

In Western India his popularity was immense. For many years the Natives worshipped him as a hero, and there is little doubt that he personally delighted in this position of distinction among the multitude. His influence was intensified by the fact that he was able to appeal equally to the voiceless common folk as their champion and to the educated classes from the political platform and through the columns of the two newspapers which he founded—the *Mahratta* published in English and the *Kesari* published in the vernacular. It was his close association with these two journals that brought him into conflict with the Criminal law.

IMPRISONMENT

In 1897 following the murder of Mr Rand the Poona Plague Commissioner he was prosecuted

for sedition and sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment. In June, 1908, he was again arrested on charges of publishing in the *Kesari* an article of a seditious character. The Court sentenced him to six years' banishment, which was afterwards commuted to simple imprisonment. The trial occasioned intense excitement in India, and the day following the conviction the bazaars of Bombay were closed as a sign of mourning.

He was released in 1914, and shortly after the outbreak of war, in spite of his Nationalist sympathies, he made a speech urging all Indians to sink their differences and support the Government. In 1916, however, he again came under the unfavourable notice of the authorities, and was bound over to be of good behaviour for a year—a decision which was reversed by the High Court.

Notwithstanding the distracting anxieties of his stormy political career, Tilak found time to make valuable use of his Sanskrit scholarship. His book on the origin of the Vedas is known to all competent students of the Indian sacred books.

. *The Daily News.*

EXPONENT OF INDIAN NATIONALISM

The following are estimates of the late Mr Tilak's life and career in the British Press—

The most distinguished of modern Indian statesmen Mr G. K. Gokhale, was accustomed to say that his rival and polar opposite whose stormy career has just come to an end was the kind of man who in the days before British rule, would have carved out an Indian kingdom for himself. The observation certainly not unjustified was meant to imply that British India as organised and governed in our time did not provide for such a man as Mr B. G. Tilak the chance of a wholesome and satisfying career. Anglo India regarded Tilak as a terrible creature, an influence purely evil. And so he was—if we accept the bureaucratic view now slowly giving way that agitation is sedition and Indian Nationalism in itself a crime. As to Mr Tilak's extraordinary personal gifts there was never any question. He had it is true, neither eloquence nor the instinct for public affairs. He was an agitator and he became a frustrated and implacable spirit. But—and here is the essential point—he had the power of moving masses of men and of inspiring a fanatical devotion. Whenever he was pressed for a statement of his political creed he insisted that he asked nothing for India beyond autonomy. He did not want to cut the British connection. In that he

was probably sincere. But as the maker and chief exponent of Indian extremism he was, for the British official class, simply unmanageable. They had no way of dealing with him—except by a series of prosecutions, either vexatious or destructive. It is impossible now to say whether, if the Government of Bombay at the end of the last century had been wiser. Mr Tilak might have been transformed into a constitutional reformer. But we may assuredly say that if Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Tilak had been co-workers instead of enemies in spirit and method the cause of Indian reform would long ago have been won. To-day the official world is made aware, by the popular demonstrations which have accompanied the passing of a man of genius, how great is the gulf which divides our governing system from the soul of the Indian people.

The Manchester Guardian.

INSPIRER OF NASCENT NATIONALISM.

By the death of Mr. B. G. Tilak, the Indian Nationalist movement loses a leader who, for fully forty years, has occupied a position and wielded a power without parallel in modern India. Considered either as an individual or an influence, he was extraordinary; a phenomenon perhaps not to be accurately judged by European standards.

Bal Gangadhar Tilak was about 65 years of age. He was a Mahratta by race a Brahmin by caste a lawyer by profession by original inclination probably a scholar In early manhood he underwent an experience which undoubtedly gave his mind a twist against British rule and from this came incalculable results He was prosecuted by the Bombay Government for defaming the Dewan of Kolhapur whom he accused of cruelty to the young Rajah of the State. Tilak served the sentence of 100 days imprisonment and emerged an implacable enemy of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy He became the inspirer of the nascent Nationalist movement which had its centre at Poona and in the early eighties Tilak laid the foundation of his vast influence over young India It is probable that neither in India nor in any other country has a popular leader been more frequently in collision with the ruling power In 1897 when Bombay was in a peculiarly inflammable condition by reason of the apparition of plague and famine Tilak circulated a speech which was declared to be an incitement to violence. It was followed by the murder of two British officers at Poona. Tilak was prosecuted for sedition and condemned to eighteen months imprisonment, of which he served a year Not long afterwards the Bombay Government again indicted him this time on a charge of maladministration of an estate held in trust Condemned in a

first trial, he was vindicated in the Appeal Court. The case was subject to interminable delays, and the circumstances altogether were such as to encourage the belief among his followers that the British Government had marked him for persecution. He was honoured by multitudes as a martyr, while the official class paid tribute to his power by exhibiting the frankest distrust of the man and all his ways.

TILAK AND THE GOVERNMENT.

Never in sympathy with the constitutional reformers of the National Congress, Tilak was the dominant force in the Extremist party at the end of the Curzon period, and his followers broke up the Congress assembly at Surat in 1907. Six months later the first bomb outrage occurred in Bengal. Tilak was prosecuted in respect of two articles in *Kesari* (his vernacular weekly). He was tried before a Parsee judge and a jury which contained only two members acquainted with Marathi, the language of the articles. In his own defence he addressed the Court in a speech lasting six days, was convicted, and sentenced to six years' imprisonment, the whole of which he served at Mandalay, being released a few weeks before the outbreak of war.

Under pressure—and, as it was believed, in order to secure immunity from the attentions of the police—Tilak signed a confession of loyalty to the

Government of India, and thereafter lived quietly at Poona until the advance of the Home Rule movement under Mrs Besant. He came out of his retirement, was once more prosecuted for his speeches, and bound over in sureties amounting to Rs. 40,000. Meanwhile the old Brahmin who had kept the strictest rule of his caste was preparing to visit England, in order to prosecute an action for slander against Sir Valentine Chirol on account of certain statements made in the volume on Indian Unrest. The suit was unsuccessful. After being turned back at Colombo he was allowed to proceed and in London during last summer Tilak was to be seen constantly at Indian meetings and in the Committee-room of the House of Lords, where the Joint Committee on the Montagu Reform Bill was taking evidence. Tilak himself was a member of the Delegation appointed by the National Congress, no longer dominated by the Moderate Constitutionalists.

A MYSTERIOUS FIGURE.

Wearing the magenta turban of his race, he was a conspicuous figure but, unlike his great rival and opponent G. K. Gokhale, he was not endowed with any external attractions, and in his last years, at all events, he had no gift of public speech in English. It was difficult to connect this strange and broken old man with the magic and terror of his name in India. Among the Indian masses no

contemporary leader has commanded one quarter of Tilak's influence, while there is nothing with which to compare the fierce devotion which he excited among sections of the educated class. None were indifferent to him. Either he was adored or else passionately opposed. The simplicity of his life and the generosity which throughout his arduous and harassed career he showed to students accounted for much of the admiration of the intellectuals. His Hindu orthodoxy, with the fact that he organised and personally shared in the religious festivals of the multitude, was the basis of the widespread popular devotion which he commanded.

Tilak enjoyed a high esteem with the orthodox school of Sanskrit students. They held that, if his life had not been given to political agitation, he would have been in the front rank of Orientalists. In the interval between his second and third terms in prison he published a widely discussed book, "The Arctic Home of the Vedas," designed to prove, by astronomical and other internal evidence, that the Aryan migration began from a region within the Arctic Circle. He was proprietor-editor of two weeklies published at Poona—the *Mahratta* in English, and *Kesari* in Marathi.

The Manchester Guardian.

BEST HATED OF ANGLO INDIAN AUTOCRATS

Among those who have voiced the desire of the Indian people for Self Government, Bal Gangadhar Tilak was perhaps the best hated of our Anglo Indian autocrats. He has been well known in England for many years as the leader of the Home Rule for India Movement. In India thousands do him reverence because of the self sacrifice he has shown in working for the freedom of his race and religion.

Tilak was born in July 1856. He was a Brahmin and the son of a schoolmaster.

In 1881 he founded two newspapers for the advocacy of Indian Home Rule and later other newspapers under his control were published in various parts of India. The propaganda carried on in these publications drew upon him the disapproval of his British overlords, and in consequence he suffered two terms of imprisonment for sedition and a sentence of six years' deportation.

The bitterness of imperialist feeling against Tilak was strikingly shown by the comments in the Press after he had brought a libel action against Sir Valentine Chirol in January 1919. In a book called *Indian Unrest* Chirol had hinted that Tilak had incited the Indians to murder Europeans during the terrible plague at Poona in 1897. The

case occupied two months. It was conducted (in characteristic style) by Mr. Justice Darling. And Tilak lost.

Tilak declared that the Montagu Bill, granting a National Assembly to India, would fail because it did not grant to the Indian people the main requisite of responsible government—Executive control.

He announced his intention of continuing his agitation until India got complete Dominion Home Rule.

And he has established a movement which will continue, although he has not gained his end.

The Daily Herald

PROMOTER OF DISAFFECTION.

Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak has been of late years the most influential man in Western India. In the lifetime of Mr. Gokhale that position was contested by the Moderate leader, a man of higher intellectual gifts and of a wider outlook, but since the death of Mr. Gokhale Tilak held undisputed power over the Mahratta Brahmins, who enjoy an unquestioned sway, socially and politically, in the Bombay Presidency and the district adjoining. He was the idol of the younger generation, and all the College

students on that side of India possessed a portrait of him among their private treasures. The position he had attained in this respect was singular considering that he appeared comparatively little in public. He was a vehement hater of the English Government and the English connection, but he preferred to carry on his opposition through journalism. He owned and inspired two newspapers which fomented racial ill feeling with unremitting consistency and Tilak twice paid the penalty for overstepping the bounds of criticism. On the first occasion he was sentenced to eighteen months imprisonment by the late Mr Justice Strachey for inciting to sedition, and in 1908 to six years transportation by a Parsee Judge Mr Justice Davar for a noted incendiary article, commending the murder of two English ladies who had been blown up by an assassin's bomb. Tilak made other appearances in the law courts, his last being when he came to England in 1918 to prosecute Sir Valentine Chirol for having aspersed his character in a book published nine years before—a good instance of Hindu tenacity of a grievance and love of litigation. In spite of the strength of his anti British convictions, Tilak was an ineffectual character. If one wants to work up a revolution it is a mistake to spend seven years of one's life in confinement for the sake of getting in a few newspaper prods. From any point of view his influence was an unwholesome one, and it achieved nothing

for his own cause. But some of the evil he has done will no doubt live after him.

The Morning Post.

A SOURCE OF TROUBLE.

Mr. Gangadhar Tilak, the "father of Indian unrest," had been a source of trouble to the Indian Government for over 30 years. He was leader of the Home Rule movement there, and his influence was always used against British rule. In 1897 he was sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment for causing disaffection among his Majesty's subjects. Six months of this was remitted. In 1908 he was sentenced to 6 years' imprisonment for sedition.

The Daily Mail.

ARCH-INSPIRER OF INDIAN UNREST.

The death of Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak removes the most dominant, subtle and sinister figure in the cult of Indian Extremism, the arch-inspirer of the Indian political unrest of our time.

Tilak belonged to the small and gifted Brahman caste of Chitpavans, and was born at Ratnagiri, in the Bombay Konkan below the Western Ghats. His father, an officer in the Educational Service, sent

him to the Deccan College, where he graduated with honours in 1876 thereafter studying law he won the L. L. B. degree in 1879

In the following year he founded the two newspapers which have figured so largely in political ferment in Western India for more than a generation the *Mahratta* printed in English and the vernacular *Kesari* (Lion) He owned and dominated these newspapers to the end of his life.

With ever increasing bitterness against British rule and the Moderate politicians who stood for reasonable argument and social as well as political reform Tilak deftly played on every string calculated to foment disaffection Identifying himself with the bigots of Brahmanical orthodoxy he bitterly resisted the Age of Consent Bill and denounced every Hindu who supported it as a renegade and a traitor He appealed to popular superstition in the Ganapati celebrations, with their theatrical performances and religious songs in which the legends of Hindu mythology were exploited to stir up hatred against the foreigner He appealed to racial fanaticism in the anti-cow killing movement directed against Moslem observances and to Mahratta sentiment in the cult which he introduced of Shivaji In private and in public, through his speeches his newspapers, and his seditious intrigues he skilfully worked upon the prejudices and passions of both the

Mehta, he made vigorous and persistent attempts to secure control of the machinery of the Indian National Congress, and his failure was followed by the physical violence of his partisans which led to the Surat session in 1907 breaking up in disorder immediately it had assembled

In June of the following year Tilak was again arrested and tried on charges of publishing an article in the *Kesari* subtly commending the murder by bombing of two English ladies at Muzzafarpur in Bengal whose carriage was mistaken for that of the District Magistrate. Tilak spoke in his own defence for 21½ hours but was found guilty and sentenced by the Parsee, Mr Justice Davar to six years transportation afterwards commuted on account of age and health to simple imprisonment at Mandalay. Tilak was released in 1914 and on the outbreak of war signed a statement disclaiming hostility to the British Government and condemning acts of violence committed in different parts of India

Tilak's subsequent conduct did not bear out the sincerity of these professions. In 1916 he was bound over to be of good behaviour for a year as a preventive of seditious agitation but the High Court subsequently reversed the decision. This left him free to co-operate with Mrs. Besant in the Home Rule movement and to work by speech as well as pen for the absolute ascendancy which the Extremists soon secured in the National Congress as a

prelude to his own domination there. At the crisis of the war, after the German successes in the spring of 1918, he made a speech of an anti-recruiting nature, which led to his being bound over not to deliver public speeches.

A FAMOUS TRIAL

Tilak's baneful influence on Indian public life up to the end of the first decade of the century is nowhere diagnosed with surer touch and fuller knowledge than in Sir Valentine Chirol's "Indian Unrest" (Macmillan, 1910), reproducing articles in this journal. A year after release from his last imprisonment Tilak instituted a suit for defamation against Sir Valentine and his publishers, and adopted the singular course of beginning it in London, although the book was also published in India.

The field of investigation opened by the plaint was very wide, and Sir Valentine Chirol devoted himself for nearly four years to the preparation of the defence, spending much time in India for the purpose and declining in the public interest overtures for a settlement. Tilak, who had never before been in England, came here in the autumn of 1918 to prosecute his case. The long-delayed trial took place before Mr. Justice Darling in February, 1919, and lasted 11 days. In all his tortuous career Tilak never showed to less intellectual advantage than in the prevaricating tone of his answers to Sir Edward

Carson in cross-examination His canistry utterly failed to have the effect on the jury which he intended The verdict for the defendants was the more convincing since the first chapter of the report of the Rowlatt Committee on revolutionary conspiracies is devoted to Tilak and reaches the same conclusions as those set forth nine years earlier in *Indian Unrest* and the columns of the *Times*

After returning to India Tilak assailed his quondam associate Mrs Besant with great bitterness for her guarded support of the Reform Bill as a substantial instalment of Home Rule He was engaged towards the end in organizing his forces for securing for his section majorities in the newly reformed Legislatures, and issued flamboyant manifestoes marked by characteristic sophistries and evasions.

Tilak's recreation from journalism and revolutionary activity was the study of the Vedas, and in a book written in prison he propounded a new theory of their immemorial antiquity

{ *The Times*

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APPENDIX B

PRESS CONTROVERSIES.

LATE MR. TILAK.

The death of Mr. Tilak brings to a close a career which might have been rich in beneficent results but was so wrongly directed as to yield little except evil passions. He was undoubtedly a man of great abilities, of commanding personality and of volcanic energy. If he had chosen to devote these gifts to the constructive work to which Mr. Gokhale and Sir Pherozesha Mehta dedicated their lives, he might have achieved greater things than either or both of them. But he was carried away by personal jealousies and race-hatred, and in reviewing the events of his turbulent life one is driven to the melancholy conclusion that his aims were wrong, his methods indefensible and mischievous, as the spirit in which he worked bad. Sir Valentine Chirol has described the activities of Mr. Tilak in notable chapters of his book on "Indian Unrest." Mr. Tilak saw fit to challenge the truth and fairness of the record by bringing an action for libel in London. This ill-advised proceeding exposed him to a terrible cross-examination by Sir Edward Carson, so

searching and damaging to his reputation that the trial left him a broken man convicted before the civilised world of incitements to crime which brought more than one miserable dope to the scaffold. The charges brought by Sir Valentine Chirol were found to be true, and that being so it can only be said that with the death of Mr Tilak India is purified by the disappearance of a malign and degrading influence. His political career began with opposition to Mr Justice Ranade, who may be described as the *guru* of Mr Gokhale. His tactics were the same from the start. They were to rouse prejudice against the men of moderate views and to capture their organisation by means of packed meetings and carefully prepared rowdyism. It was by these methods that he got control of the Sarva Janik Sabha of Poona. He unscrupulously used the Age of Consent Bill as a weapon to batter the Moderates, ranging himself with the reactionary forces and representing a measure of social reform as an assault on Hindoism. He knew of course that the Bill had no religious character but it was enough for his purpose that it could be misrepresented and employed to rally to his side all the obscurantists. From a campaign against this well meant measure he passed to an anti-cow killing movement, designed to rouse the anger of the Mahomedans and to diminish still further the prestige of the Moderate leaders who protested against his

appeals to religious passion. Then followed his creation of the Shivaji cult, which will perhaps prove to be the only enduring outcome of his energies. Shivaji was selected for adoration, because in a peaceful conference with the Mahomedan general Afzul Khan, he treacherously murdered his guest. Mr. Tilak cynically defended the gross dishonour of the murder on the ground that a Maharaja was above common morality and that it was right to use murder and treachery against foreigners. It was consistent with his revived worship of Shivaji that Mr. Tilak should find in the measures adopted against plague in Bombay means of exciting popular ignorance into resentment of Government action. In his newspapers he set himself to misconstrue the precautions and remedies employed and to condemn them as deliberate violations of the customs of the people. The methods may have been unwise, the fight against plague being in its infancy, but there can be no question as to the benevolent intentions of Government, and nothing could be more wicked and despicable than the conduct of an intelligent man who avails himself of the stupid prejudices of the mob to stir up hatred against would-be benefactors. The consequences were disastrous. Mr. Rand, the president of the Poona Plague Committee, and Lieutenant Ayerst were shot down by a young Brahmin, who, at his trial, admitted that he had been led to these crimes by the teachings of Mr.

Tilak. The dupe was sentenced to death but the real author of the murders was treated with a leniency which could only suggest that Government were afraid of him. His impunity continued until the outbreak of anarchist violence in Bengal beginning with the atrocious murder of Mrs. and Miss Kennedy induced Mr Tilak to sing the praises of the bomb in his journal, the *Kesari*. The bomb said the admiring editor, was a kind 'of witchcraft which placed an unarmed people in a position of equality with regular soldiers. These simple playful sports of science were more than a match for detectives and policemen. For these articles Mr Tilak was very properly brought to trial. His behaviour on that occasion somewhat belied his fame for courage and boldness. Instead of admitting his responsibility and seeking to justify his praise of bombs he spent four days in a tedious speech in which he tried to show that his words did not mean what everyone took them to mean. The sentence of six years transportation passed upon him by Mr Justice Davar was richly merited and it produced a salutary effect. For the rest of his life Mr Tilak was more careful in the expression of his views. But no discipline could eradicate his love for Shivaji's methods. At the Surat Congress, before his trial and his condemnation he organised a mob which howled down the veteran leader Mr Surendranath Banerjee and the

Congress broke up in a free fight. After his release, when the Moderates weakly admitted the Extremists to the Lucknow Congress, he employed the same strategy, and thus captured the Congress organisation. Of good faith, honour and fairness he had no conception. He was a mere fighter, and to him it was a matter of indifference whether he used a dagger or poison-gas. Ruthlessness of this kind may provoke a certain admiration from the mob, who always love violence, but in a civilised age it is as absolute as the morals of Shivaji, to whom in fact Mr. Tilak bore a marked resemblance.

The Statesman.

THE "STATESMAN" ON THE LATE MR TILAK.

Amina was the most handsome woman in Bagdad. The Caliph was so smitten with her bewitching beauty that he not only married her but made her his chief queen. The sole object of his life was to make her happy. He laid on her dinner-table all the richest and sweetest dishes that human ingenuity could produce, but Amina would not touch a morsel of them in spite of His Majesty's earnest and repeated requests and fasted the whole day. Yet she looked as healthy and strong as ever

The mystery was soon cleared. One night the King found her leaving his bed surreptitiously. He followed her stealthily till they came to the grave-yard and the king was horrified to find her queen digging a grave and dragging out a rotten corpse and devouring it with gusto. Then the Caliph accosting her said: Amina, is putrid human flesh more delicious than all the delicacies that I place before you from day to day? But the King forgot that Amina was a ghoul. What did she care for *polao*, and *kabab* cooked in the royal kitchen? A rotten carcase was far sweeter to her palate.

The *Statesman's* article noticing Mr Tilak's death reminds us of the above story. This paper which looks so beautiful and respectable, might have at least once in its life joined with its European contemporaries in paying a suitable tribute to the memory of a man who though hated by it was dead and for whom the whole of India is in mourning. But how could it do it since it is bereft of all higher human perceptions and is practically a ghoul? The vulture soars higher and higher not to see the beauties of the heavens but discover carcases of animals. The *Statesman* is prospering thanks to the patronage of our countrymen. It should have some consideration for the feelings and sentiments of the majority of its clientele. But the more prosperous it is the greater is its rancorous

hatred for Indians and their leaders. The vilification of the latter is its supreme delight. How long will our countrymen submit to this prostitution of journalism at their expense? How long will they pay their own money to be lashed by a journal whose very touch is pollution?

"Say nothing evil of the dead"—is a canon of decency which is perhaps as old as human society itself. In the presence of death the higher instincts of man come into play. He realises, if for one moment, that equality between man and man which death establishes. He recognises that one day he will also have to die. His thoughts carry him afar from the world in which he lives and moves. The dead is a symbol to him of the world beyond. Round the dead is associated all that is holy, all that is good, in fact, all that represents a higher and brighter world. He cannot speak evil of the dead. His spiritual instincts go against it.

The veneration for the dead characterised the ancient man. The civilised modern man, who has got himself rid of many of the ancient customs and practices, have however inherited the traditional regard for the dead. And no wonder. Because death is as mysterious to him as it was to the ancient man.

But apart from the higher spiritual instincts, the modern man has a cultural basis also for his

aversion to speak anything ill of the dead. He is loath to hurt where there is no possibility of retaliation or even of defence. His chivalrous instinct will prevent him from striking the dead because the dead cannot retaliate or reply.

What then are we to think of the cowardly attack on the late Mr Tilak by the *Statesman* in its leader of yesterday? But we forget we are preaching a sermon to a ghoul or a vulture with a human body who is incapable of appreciating any higher sentiments. It pains us that we have to pollute ourselves by reproducing the *Statesman's* malignant effusions. We want to say no more of them than that they are unchivalrous, inhuman and brutal. We will not say that they are singular because history records instances where corpses have been taken out from their graves and hanged and men belonging to the so-called civilised races have done it or taken part in it. The attack on the late Lokamanya Tilak is on a par with such cases.

In contrast we note with satisfaction the appreciating remarks of the *Englishman* which so long as Lokamanya Tilak was alive, was no less an implacable enemy of his than the Chowringhee raff. We have several times noted in these columns that even in its attacks on prominent Indians the *Englishman* has seldom hit below the belt. Its observations on Mr Tilak as also those of the *Indian Daily*

News we have already reproduced are in keeping with its traditions.

The article of the *Statesman* under notice is full of misstatements and half-truths. We notice only a few of these. The Chowringhee paper says that Mr. Tilak "had unscrupulously used the Age of Consent Bill as a weapon to batter the Moderates, ranging himself with the reactionary forces and representing a measure of social reform as an assault on Hinduism." This is absolutely false. This odious and infamous measure was introduced in 1889. Tilak was at the time scarcely known beyond the limits of his own native city. Indeed he had not then commenced his public career. The paper says that Mr. Tilak used the Age of Consent Bill as a weapon to batter the "Moderates." But where were the "Moderates" then? There was no such party then in India. But any lie is good enough to strike Mr. Tilak, particularly now, that he is dead. The paper eulogises the benevolent character of the measure. Benevolent foresooth! It was so very benevolent that it drove even a man like Raja Peary Mohan Mukherjee to preach rank sedition. Indeed never was the Hindu community so violently moved as it was by this uncalled—for measure. Of course Mr. Tilak and many others protested against it mainly on the ground that a foreign Government was not entitled to interfere with the social and religious customs of the people. But as

we have said Mr Tilak was not then known outside his native city

As regards the part Mr Tilak played during the plague in Bombay the readers of the present day cannot form even the faintest idea of the horrible nature of the plague regulations that were introduced first in Poona and then extended to the whole of India. All the same Mr Tilak at the risk of his own life roamed from house to house in that infected city (Poona) giving personal aid to the sufferers, though at the same time he protested against the regulations. Here is however a gross and deliberate lie. Says the *Statesman* referring to the murder of Mr Rand and Lieutenant Ayrest —

Mr Rand, the President of the Poona Plague Committee, and Lieutenant Ayrest were shot down by a young Brahman who at his trial admitted that he had been led to these crimes by the teachings of Mr Tilak.

This is, as we have said a gross lie more suited to the prince of lies than one who has some human traits in him. The Brahman never said in his confession that he committed the murders for the teachings of Mr Tilak. On the other hand he distinctly declared that he did the act of his own motion and was not incited by any one simply because he could not bear to see the outrages committed in the name of extirpating plague. It should also be stated here that it was not Mr Tilak but

Mr Gokhale who brought some serious charges against the soldiers employed in carrying out the plague regulations.

We have never been able to persuade ourselves to pin faith in the Christian doctrine of eternal hell. But now we think there must be such an abode. For where are those people to go after their death who desecrate the sacred memory of the dead and not only do so, but try to justify their monstrous conduct by a profuse employment of deliberate falsehoods and despicable half-truths ?

The Amrita Bazar Patrika.

PUBLIC INDIGNATION AGAINST THE “ STATESMAN ”

They come, they come, still they come We are being literally deluged with letters condemning the conduct of the *Statesman* for its notorious article on late Mr Tilak, and asking the Indians not to touch that paper. On counting the letters, which we have yet to dispose of, we find the number to be more than 1,000 We regret we have little space for them So all that we can do is to acknowledge receipt of a number of them and mention the names of the senders. We think the publication of further correspondence on the subject should now cease

unless the letters contain something special, inviting public attention. The *Bengalee* suggested the other day that the *Statesman* should apologise and retract all the abominable things it had said about the late illustrious Indian leader with an expression of regret. But why should it do so when that would be an honourable act? And also why should it do so when it can afford to abuse the Indians with impunity and extract money from their pockets? As suggested by our correspondents and speakers at public meetings every Indian should shun this newspaper both as a subscriber and an advertiser as an abomination.

Amrita Bazar Patrika.

THE STATESMAN'S LIE.

We again reproduce below the atrocious charge made against the late Mr Tilak by the *Statesman* in its last Tuesday's issue —

Mr Rand the president of the Poona Plague Committee and Lieutenant Ayrest were shot down by a young Brahman who, at his trial admitted that he had been led to these crimes by the teachings of Mr Tilak.

We have already stated that the above charge is a black lie. That we did not draw upon our imagination or relied solely on our memory when we

said so will be evident from the following two extracts, the one being taken from the "Advocate of India" dated October 4, 1897 based on the statement of Damodar Chapekar, who murdered Mr. Rand, and the other from the same paper based on his confession before the committing Magistrate. The first runs thus.—

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"Then the word "zoolum" was in almost every native's mouth. The part the native newspapers played in the agitations has occupied the High Court for many days. The cry amongst the people was, "There are many dying of plague, will not one die to end this zoolum?" Damodar Chapekar heard the cry and determined to be a 'hero' in the sight of at least his own community and to die for his country. He at once looked for ways and means of carrying his determination for revenge into effect."

The other extract runs thus:—

"The recorded confession does not add a great deal to the knowledge of the public as to the accomplices in the crime. It still represents, Balakrishna as the murderer of Lieutenant Ayerst. The only other person whom it brings in as directly privy to the crime in addition to his two brothers, is a Poona Brahmin of no importance, who died from plague a short time after the murders were committed. The prisoner volunteered the important statement that he had extremely

little knowledge of the Nattu brothers and had only visited their house on one occasion for the harmless purpose of singing kirtans. He does not state, and of course was not asked by the Magistrate, whether he was a reader of the *Kesari*; but he did state that he was strongly attached to the orthodox school of thought, of which Mr Tilak is so prominent an apostle. He disclaimed the existence of any political conspiracy or the foreknowledge of any persons, save the two men already referred to. *He said he desired to deliver his people from the oppression under which they suffered and from the desecration of their caste customs entailed by the plague operations.* It was in this connection that the purpose came into his mind to murder Mr Rand and he only communicated it to his brothers and the other accomplices. *No one suggested any thing of the kind to him.* He knew it was no good to kill any subordinate plague officer and that some one of high position like Mr Rand must be shot if his people were to be delivered. This confession is made in no penitential spirit but rather in the spirit of one who has done and dared for the cause of his countrymen.

Now that Mr Tilak is dead, any mean minded coward may invent any amount of lies to try to tarnish his reputation with impunity

Amrita Bazar Patrika

THE "STATESMAN" ON THE LATE MR. TILAK.

What are things coming to? The *Statesman* writes an article on the late Mr. Tilak, replete with mis-statements and false suggestions, which has profoundly shocked the feelings not only of the friends, disciples and admirers of the departed worthy, but of all fair-minded persons. We need hardly say that the Indian community, irrespective of all party considerations, has been stirred to its depths by the article of our contemporary conceived in such a vile taste. There have been of course acute and fundamental differences between the Chowringhee oracle and the late Mr. Tilak. But when death has supervened, the voice of contention and strife must be deemed to have been hushed in silence. What does the *Statesman* mean by raking up old sores and flinging the envenomed darts of malice at a time when a wail has gone from the heart of India in consequence of the death of a man who occupied a large place in the affections of so many? The *Statesman* might not have seen eye to eye with the late Mr. Tilak. But does that justify him to indulge in the language of virulent abuse which is calculated to make the hair of the unbiassed readers stand on end with righteous indignation? We have no hesitation in saying that such language is not permissible in genteel society where the recognised rule is not to speak disrespectfully of the

dead. We are astounded that a respectable journal can stoop to such a low level as to give the go by to this accepted principle and violate all canons of civilised life. We have heard of stabbing a man in the dark, but we have never heard of plunging the rapier deep into the back of a dead man with grim ferocity. This argues a state of mind that has lost its even balance by the insidious influence of prejudice. How virulent the prejudice must be that does not take account even of the solemnity of death! We would ask the *Statesman* to make a suitable apology at once for its blaring indiscretion which amounts to a downright insult to a revered memory and has caused such pain and resentment to the Indian community and brought such disgrace upon the ethics of Anglo Indian journalism.

The Bengalee.

MR TILAK AND THE STATESMAN

The Resolutions which have been passed by the various Bar Associations testify to the strong feeling which has been evoked among the Indian community by the article of the *Statesman* regarding Mr Tilak. *De mortuis nil nisi sed bonum* (of the dead say nothing except that which is good) That is the old Latin proverb which we have learnt in our school days, which has been drilled into our

ears by our elders, and which has become the accepted creed of journalism and of public life. Political leaders have borne ungrudging testimony to the work and achievements of political opponents, removed by death, and of this there could be no more striking illustration than what is furnished by Mr Tilak himself. We all know that Mr Gokhale and Mr. Tilak belonged to opposite political schools. Their differences were deep and extended to the sphere of social work. We remember now in 1895, when the Congress was held in Poona, Mr. Tilak successfully used his influence in preventing the Social Conference being held in the Congress Pandal. But when Mr Gokhale died, Tilak forgot all differences, the conflicts and the controversies of a life-time, and paid the most glowing tribute to the memory of the great Moderate leader. He described him as one of the greatest leaders that India had ever produced, and that his life was an example and an inspiration to all his countrymen. His words are worth reproducing. Standing in the presence of the dead body in the funeral procession, Mr Tilak said :—

“ This is not a time for cheers. This is a time for shedding tears. This is a time for expressing sorrow for the irreparable loss which we have sustained by the death of Mr Gokhale. This diamond of India, this jewel of Maharashtra, this prince of workers, is taking eternal rest on the funeral

grounds. Look at him and try to emulate him. Like a triumphant hero he is passing away after having satisfactorily done his work and made his name immortal. Not only none of you here assembled but no other citizen in India will be able to give so satisfactory an account in the other world of having done his duty to the Motherland."

Could there be a nobler tribute to a departed political opponent? The magnanimity of the man is imprinted on every line of the speech. No sudden or improvised burst of generosity could have inspired this noble oration of half a dozen lines. It was there a part of his nature stirred by a great national sorrow and finding utterance in language of simple but glowing eloquence. Let it be borne in mind that Mr. Tilak was no orator. The gift of eloquence was not one of his endowments. That he spoke with such impressive force shows how deeply he felt the death of Mr. Gokhale and how in remembrance of his splendid services, he forgot the conflicts and controversies of a life time. Is he not entitled to the same generous treatment of himself and his work by his critics and opponents? It was a bitter irony of fate that he who could rise high above the passions of political controversies and render justice to a great political opponent, should himself be traduced after death in the columns of a leading Anglo Indian journal. Posthumous vilification is not the creed of journalism. Posthumous

honors to dead political opponents are inspired by the higher impulses of the soul. To say that the death of Mr. Tilak has removed a malign influence from Indian public life is to utter a calumny. Nay more, it sets at naught the universal verdict of the Indian public, which, by a spontaneous and overwhelming impulse are united in honouring the memory of the departed leader. Whether the influence of a personality is beneficent or malignant in Indian public life is a consideration entirely within the cognisance of the people of India; and we can permit no external dictation in a domestic matter which is purely our own concern. But was Mr. Tilak's a malignant influence? Indeed, it was not. His death at the present moment is especially unfortunate. His was a progressive mind, ready to adapt itself to changing environments. His visit to England had made a profound impression on him. He was steadily advancing towards sober and moderate ideas. It will be remembered that he sent a telegram of congratulation to Mr. Montagu on the passing of the Reform Act, and what is still more important is that he was not in favour of Non-co-operation. If he were spared, his influence, we believe, would have been exercised in support of the rejection of Non-co-operation by the Special Congress. Is it possible to hold, regard being had to these facts, and taking the narrowest view, that he was a malign influence? It is a calumny which

should never have been uttered. It is inexcusable in the case of a dead man, whose memory the country has noited to honour. But the *Statesman* in the article under review traverses a wider ground than what is covered by Mr Tilak's life. He rakes up the Afzal Khan incident, and says that he (Mr Tilak) defended the gross dishonour of the murder of Afzal Khan. This is an old charge which is once more resuscitated against the great founder of the Maharatta Empire. The charge has been carefully investigated by such authorities as the late Mr Rao and the Hon'ble Mr Kincaid of the Bombay Civil Service and has been found to be baseless. Grant Duff in his *History of the Marathas* first started the myth upon an imperfect examination of the records. Subsequent investigation has completely dissipated it. We have sometimes to correct our school boy notions to the light of modern research.

The Bengalee

MR. TILAK AND THE AFZAL KHAN INCIDENT

We wholly dissected from the view put forward by the *Statesman* that Shivaji committed the horrible murder of Afzal Khan and that therefore it

was wrong of Mr. Tilak to have started a movement in commemoration of Shivaji's greatness. We said that the alleged assassination of Afzal Khan by Shivaji was a myth, and that it had been dissipated by the results of modern research. The truth is that Afzal Khan had planned to treacherously murder Shivaji at an interview which he had asked for and arranged, that after an interchange of hot words, he made a murderous assault on Shivaji, which was nearly successful, and then it was that Shivaji turned round upon him and attacked him and his attendants cut off his head. Our authority is Mr C. A. Kincaid of the Bombay Civil Service, who thus describes the incident in his "History of the Mahratta People" —

"The interview was fixed for the following evening and the place chosen was a spot about a quarter of a mile from the fort walls. Shivaji had a Shemiana erected and furnished with rich carpets and costly hangings. In the morning he bathed and ate his breakfast as usual. In the afternoon he lay down and slept, as if no danger awaited him. After rising he visited the temple of Bhawani and implored her help. Next he took into his confidence his comrade, Tanaji Malusare, the Peshwa Moro Pingle and Netaji Palkar. They were ordered to post troops round the flanks and rear of the Bijapur army so as to cut off all possibility of retreat in case Afzal Khan attempted treachery. The signal

for their attack 'was to be a blast on a horn Shivaji then called a council and named in the event of his death his young son Sambhaji as his heir and Netaji Palkar as regent. Last of all he visited his mother Jijabai. She begged him not to meet Afzal Khan. Shivaji however stood firm in his resolve. The Hindu gods, he said, angered with Afzal Khan will if need be, fight on my side. At length Jijabai gave way blessed him and as he left her said Be careful my son be careful and take vengeance for Sambhaji your brother.

Shivaji then prepared himself to meet the treachery which he anticipated. He put on a coat of chain armour. Over it he put on a gold embroidered coat. On his head he fastened a steel cap and wound over and round it a long cloth turban. To his left hand he fitted the steel points known as waghnaikh or tiger claws. He concealed a small dagger known as a vinchu or scorpion in his right sleeve. Thus fully equipped he began to descend the hill accompanied by Jivba Mahala Sambhaji Kavaji and a third whose name has not survived. In the meantime Afzal Khan was being carried up Pratapgadh in a palanquin. At his side went Krishnaji Bharkar. Behind them followed a large body of armed men. Krishnaji pointed out that if the Khan hoped to dupe Shivaji he had better leave his soldiers behind. Afzal Khan agreed and reduced his escort to the same number as Shivaji's.

One of these, however, was a famous swordsman named Sayad Banda. Shivaji, seeing Sayad Banda, sent a messenger to say that he feared his presence and offered to dismiss one of his attendants, if Afzal Khan left Sayad Banda behind. Afzal Khan consented and Sayad Banda halted. Shivaji then sent away his third attendant and accompanied only by Jivba Mahala and Sambhaji Kavaji advanced to greet the Khan, who had now entered the Shamiana. Shivaji appeared to be unarmed and Afzal Khan, who carried a sword, thought that the moment had come to seize him. He addressed Shivaji in insulting tones and asked how a common peasant like him came to have the riches displayed in the Shamiana. Shivaji replied hotly that, that was his business and not Afzal Khan's, whose father was nothing but a cook. The Khan enraged at the taunt seized with the left arm Shivaji by the neck, forcing his head under his armpit. At the same time the Khan with his sword tried to stab him in the stomach. The coat of mail turned the point "

"Nevertheless Shivaji was in great peril. Although expecting treachery he had yet been taken unawares. To use a term from the prize ring, he was in chancery; and by a common trick of Indian wrestlers Afzal Khan was trying to dislocate Shivaji's neck by twisting his head. As he afterwards said when relating the scene to a friend, he

was on the point of fainting. Had he done so he would have been lost. Suddenly he thought of his divine mission. Hope and courage returned. He swung his left arm round the Khan's waist as he raised his right arm for a second blow. The steel claws hit deeply into the Khan's stomach and as he winced with pain, Shivaji freed his right arm and drove the dagger into his enemy's back. Afzal Khan broke away and aimed a mighty blow at Shivaji's head which cut through the turban and the steel cap inflicting a slight scalp wound. Shivaji snatched a sword from Jivba Mahala who carried two and struck the Khan through his left shoulder. He fell calling for help. Sayad Banda and his other attendants rushed up. They placed Afzal Khan in a palanquin and tried to carry him back to Par. But Shivaji and Jivba Mahala overcame Sayad Banda and Sambhaji Kavaji running after the palqui bearers slashed at their legs until they dropped their burden. Sambhaji then cut off the dying man's head and brought it back to Shivaji. The latter blew his horn. From every corner of the thick jungle poured out hordes of foot soldiers and squadrons of cavalry. The battle was ended in a few seconds. The Bijapur horsemen completely surprised were ridden over by Netaji Palkar before they had time to mount. Those who tried to escape on foot were cut off by Shivaji's infantry. Numbers fell but at Shivaji's orders all who surrendered

were spared The Maratha prisoners were allowed to enlist in Shivaji's service. A body of 300 cavalry including Fazul Mahomed, Afzal Khan's son, managed with the help of one Khandoji Khopade to escape to Karad. But the entire camp, treasury, stores, horses, elephants, and cannon of the Bijapur force fell into Shivaji's hands Much of this booty he distributed as rewards among his troops On Pantoji Gopinath he bestowed the village of Hivare. To Vishya Rai, the spy who had first warned him against Afzal Khan's treachery, he gave a large sum in gold. Then carrying in one hand Afzal Khan's bleeding head, he went to see his mother She had watched the scene from the top of Pratapgad and when he came with the ghastly trophy, she blessed him and thanked him for avenging Sambhaji's death The deadman's head Shivaji buried on the top of the hill as an offer to Bhawani and built over it a tower which he called the Afzal Barujer or tower of Afzal Khan The general's sword is still preserved as a trophy by Shivaji's descendant The gold-headed pole which supported his tent was given by the conqueror to the Mahableshwar temple, which it yet adorns And the tomb erected by Shivaji where the deadman's body was reverently buried may be seen to-day on the slopes of Pratapgad "

* Mr Kincaid discusses, Grant Duff's version which is based on that of Mohamedan Chronicler Khafi Khan who never refers to Shivaji except as

"the Helldog or the vile infidel Mr Kincaid's version is based on an account given by the biographer of Ram Das Shivaji's guru to whom Shivaji related the whole story immediately after the incident.

The Bengalee

THE STATESMAN ON MR. TILAK

Under the heading Unjustifiable silence of *Bengales* a contemporary who should certainly have known better endorses the insinuation that we did not protest against and condemn the vile and cowardly attack of the Chowringhee journal on the late lamented Lokamanya Tilak. Our readers are aware that we have protested against and condemned the attack in language as emphatic as the resources of the English tongue can supply. We shall always be prepared to denounce such conduct with all firmness that we are capable of for it means serious injustice to a departed leader whose memory is adored by such a large section of our countrymen. The hurricane of agitation against the offending journal shows conclusively to what a high pitch of excitement public feeling has worked itself owing to the utterly unmerited slur cast on the memory of Mr Tilak. Could there be an Indian with soul so dead passing by such action with

stolid silence? Anybody insulting the memory of a hero in the national valhalla offers an insult to the whole nation and that is why it is impossible to condone such conduct

The Bengalee.

THE "STATESMAN" ON MR. TILAK

On Tuesday last the Chowringhee "Friend of India" published in its columns a leading article on the late Mr. Tilak. This article, containing as it did, a vitriolic and violent attack on the life-long activities of the great Maharatta leader, has since been the sensational subject of talk and comment amongst the educated men of Bengal. Not only was this obituary notice couched in that most provocative and stinging language which only the ponderous *Statesman* so well knows to use, but, what was worse, it had in it a good many of those mis-statements and mis-interpretations with which the personality of Mr. Tilak, in the minds of all cheap Anglo-Indians, has always been shrouded. In other times, perhaps, an article of this kind would have only provoked the ire of those devoted adherents and ardent admirers of the late Poona leaders, but to-day while all-India, irrespective of all considerations, personal, political or social, mourns the loss of "a vital force" in Indian politics,—so even

the *Englishman* has been pleased to observe is its notice of the demise of Mr Tilak,—it is no wonder that the malicious effusions of the *Statesman* have been so much resented by the Indian public, and have given birth to that seemingly well supported movement of Boycott that has been so demonstratively started the other day. A good number of the Bar Associations of Bengal have already dropped their patronage to this circulation proud newspaper and reports have already appeared in the indigenous press that the local Indian merchants and traders are all now contemplating the withdrawal of their advertisements and thus emphasise their disapproval as well. All these steps on the part of the Bengalee public may not of course have any immediate effect on the financial status of this rich journalistic concern all the same they are bound to tell in the end.

A CLIMB DOWN

However on the 6th instant a long letter by Mr Tarak Nath Basu Pleader Chinsora, appeared in the *Statesman* controverting many of the arguments advanced in the course of its diatribe and there was appended to it a note by the Editor which was as follows — The article to which our correspondent relies had reference solely to Mr Tilak considered as a politician and was in no way intended to reflect on his personal character or

private life We deeply regret that what was published in good faith as a political criticism should have caused pain to such readers as our correspondent " This undoubtedly represents a climb-down, but can hardly be expected to assuage the present temper of the young men, to whom Mr Tilak was no less than an "avatar" divine, nor even to satisfy the *Bengalee* which has asked the *Statesman* to eat the humble pie in double-quick time lest the incipient "boycott" movement show grow more and more in strength and vastness, to the permanent detriment of the moral and financial backing of the paper by the Indian public. Well, nobody will be more pleased than Babu Surendranath Bannerjee if Mr Bannerjee's Rotary Club friend, Mr. Jones, would muster up sufficient moral courage to pocket the discomfiture consequent on an unambiguous apology And Mr. Bannerjee wants "a calm atmosphere" too for the working of the forthcoming Reforms!

The Justice.

THE "STATESMAN" ON LOK. TILAK.

The columns of an organ of public opinion have perhaps never been disgraced by such scurrilous abuse as that which the *Statesman* directed against Mr. Tilak within a day after his death.

De Mortuis nil nisi bonum (of the dead say nothing except that which is good) is a saying which represents the concentrated essence of the moral code of humanity and when the greatness of a man overshadows his defects and his weaknesses the justice of rendering him honour by friends and foes alike is beyond doubt and controversy. The *Statesman* has thought it proper to forget this ordinary canon of civilised society and to hurl a philippic at a man whose death occurred only a few hours before. Such a course of action must appear to be the grossest outrage against decency and humanity not the Chowringhee oracle seems to be devoid of any such feelings. In his estimate of the career of Mr Tilak even the *Statesman* had to admit his intellectual greatness but he qualifies this admission by the observation that "he was carried away by personal jealousies and race hatred and therefore in reviewing the events of his turbulent life one is driven to the melancholy conclusion that his aims were wrong his methods indefensible and mischievous and the spirit in which he worked bad. To bring such serious charges against a man who is just dead must appear shocking to any person of ordinary sense, and the fact must have struck the oracle of wisdom, for he recapitulates all the leading events in the life of Mr Tilak to justify his onslaught. Lokamanya Tilak might have been technically guilty of sedition and for that he suffered

punishment according to the law of the land. But it should be remembered that at the first trial in 1897, the interpretation of the law of sedition by the presiding Judge evoked considerable surprise in England and India. Even such journals as the *London Times* and the *Standard* doubted the sound nature of the law as explained in the summing up of the Judge. The Government of Lord Elgin found it necessary to amend Sec. 124A of the Indian Penal Code to explain the true significance of the term 'disaffection.' Another fact will vindicate the reputation of Mr Tilak in the eyes of the posterity. On both occasions when he was prosecuted for sedition, he was convicted by the European majority in the special jury. The Indian jurors returned a verdict of not guilty. The worst detractors of Mr Tilak have never hesitated to acknowledge that he knew how to suffer with heroic courage for the cause of the motherland. When Mt Justice Davar sentenced him to six years' transportation, he joyfully welcomed the punishment, for, in his own words, his sufferings would advance the cause for which he had devoted his life. He might have been let off in 1898 if he had apologised. But he was, in his own words, "no *katcha* reed" and would not retract his observations. Yet the Chowringhee oracle of wisdom has the meanness to accuse Mr. Tilak of cowardice, because in the second trial for sedition, instead of pleading guilty,

in justifying his conduct he spent four days in a tedious speech in which he tried to show that his words did not mean what every one took them to mean. In the second trial for sedition, Mr. Tilak had not the advantage of legal assistance. The leaders of the Bombay bar had been retained by Government, and his friends could not within the short time from his arrest and the commencement of the trial engage counsel from Calcutta as had been done at the first trial. His speech on his own behalf was a masterpiece and proved that if Mr. Tilak had practised as a lawyer he could have been a most successful advocate. It was a manly and straight forward defence and the Advocate General of Bombay who prosecuted on behalf of the local Government did not hesitate to pay him a well deserved compliment on the fact. The courage of Mr. Tilak never flickered for a moment during the ordeal, and this fact is recognised by friends and foes alike. There may be difference of opinion regarding his methods of propaganda but for all times hereafter the memory of Mr. Tilak will be worshipped in this country as a sincere patriot and an erudite scholar and a heroic martyr to the cause of the motherland. But according to the Chowringhee paper he had no conception of good faith, honor and fairness. He was a mere fighter and to him it was a matter of indifference whether he used a dagger or a poison gas. Such impudence will not

lower Mr. Tilak in the estimation of the world. His world-wide reputation as a *savant* will not be tarnished by the malicious libels provoked by ignorance and mean envy. The tone of the article makes it clear that there is a feeling of unmistakable relief in the circle of the *Statesman* and men of his ilk at the demise of Mr. Tilak. But we can assure such mean persons and their spokesman that wherever there is respect for learning, patriotism and self-sacrifice, genuine tears are being shed for Mr. Tilak. The whole civilised world is mourning for him. His books—the *Orion* and the *Commentary* on the *Gita*—will keep his memory green among the remotest posterity when the very existence of the oracle of wisdom will be buried in oblivion and he will lie under the ground “unwept, unhonored, and unsung.” The savage onslaught which the Anglo-Indian journal has directed against one of the noblest of India’s sons, within a few hours after he had passed away, will surely make him an object of scorn and hatred. It will raise a storm of indignation and a universal cry of shame will burst forth all over the country. The jack ass kicked the lion, while he was still gasping for breath. But the oracle of wisdom has provoked himself worse than that, for he dared not do so till the lion was dead.

THE EDITOR.

BAL GANGADHAR TILAK.

We are bidden to say nothing of the dead if we cannot say that which is good. As we cannot say much that is good of the political career of Mr Tilak, we shall say little. He was a man of considerable intellectual powers: his studies of the Vedas contained in Orion and The Arctic Home of the Vedas earned the commendation of scholars of repute. He was a man of courage, enterprise, and unflagging zeal in the propaganda to which he devoted his life. Readers of the interminable translations of his speeches and articles wonder at the appeal which they undoubtedly made to his audiences: his style would not bear translation and in Marathi he was a pithy and effective speaker and writer. These talents and energies were however devoted to a life of political violence, social reaction and campaigning terrorism to which we know no parallel in constitutional history. From the moment when he entered political life in the early eighties until his powers began to fail he was no friend to real social and political progress in India. He at once arrayed himself against the band of intellectuals in Poona who under the leadership of Mr Ranade believed that the legitimate constitutional progress of India was bound up with social reform: he violently opposed the Age of Consent Bill. In the exaltation of Shivaji, the Ganapati melas, and the no-rent campaign he was pursuing no real national

policy, for his enmity to the Mahomedans was inferior only to his hatred of the British Government. And when his activities produced, amidst the uneasiness caused by the visitation of the plague and the measures which in the then existing knowledge of the disease were deemed necessary to combat it, the atmosphere which induced the murders in Poona in 1897, the prosecution in the High Court which resulted in his conviction and light sentence afterwards reduced, he learnt nothing. Very soon after his release he renewed his turbulent activities and was again convicted of sedition in 1908. Afterwards there emerged the widespread conspiracies in the Deccan which resulted in murder and grave plottings, which were directly attributed to the effect of his teachings. In the judgment of the late Mr. Justice Davar, who tried him on the second prosecution for sedition, appears that memorable description of the articles which formed the subject of the charge — "They are seething with sedition; they preach violence; they speak of murders with approval, and the cowardly and atrocious act of committing murders with bombs not only meets with your approval, but you hail the advent of the bomb into India as if something had come into India for its good."

When Mr. Tilak was released from his easy confinement at Mandalay he made his public submission, but how genuine it was may be gleaned

from the measures which almost immediately followed it. He then set to himself two objects—the rehabilitation of his moral character which had suffered from the verdicts of the courts in the Tai Maharaj case and the rehabilitation of his political character against which stood the damning verdict of the High Court. He succeeded through a series of accidents which form an interesting chapter of legal history in getting the decision of the courts in the Tai Maharaj case reversed by the Privy Council. He then sought to get behind Mr Justice Davar's judgment by an action for libel against Sir Valentine Chirol, who had elaborated these points in his book on Indian Unrest. He took his case to a British judge and jury. He had the assistance of the ablest counsel at the British Bar and he completely failed. Thereafter with the weight of advancing years, his political activities were less marked. He lived to see the Deccan react against the destructive political violence which he had so long preached. Forced into the declaration of such constructive ideas as he possessed he showed how completely he and his followers were out of harmony with the spirit of the age in the opposition to compulsory female education in Poona. With a great era of social and political reform opening out for the country through the Reform Scheme people asked what he could contribute to it and found nothing. His recent programme

for the Democratic Party was aptly described as neither democratic nor progressive. In other ways he changed not at all. The turbulent spirit which opposed in turn Ranade, Mehta, Chandavarkar and Gokhale, and which broke up the Surat Congress rather than accept the verdict of the majority, waned in bitter opposition to his one-time colleague, Mrs Besant, and in its closing days found the weapon of vituperation which he had used with such unscrupulousness against all who differed from him, turned against himself by a master-hand over the disposal of certain funds raised for public purposes. He died leaving behind him no constructive monument, the Deccan Education Society parted company with him early in its existence; the national schools and the swadeshi work perished because they were founded not on the desire for service but on the doctrine of hate; his nationalism was no true nationalism, for it was mainly anti-British and anti-Mohomedan and aimed not at a genuine democracy but at the revival of a theocratical domination. It is a lamentable record for a man of his abilities, courage and energy; but such it is

Times of India.

MR TILAK AND THE 'TIMES OF INDIA

I

Thus the *Times of India* in its yesterday's issue —

Mr B G Tilak who had been lying dangerously ill at a Bombay Hotel for a week died in the early hours of Saturday morning and was buried in the afternoon. His political career is referred to in our editorial columns.

There are at least three patent untruths in these five lines. First Mr Tilak did not die on Saturday morning but on Sunday morning secondly he was not buried but cremated thirdly the burial or rather the cremation did not take place in the afternoon but in the evening. We leave it to our readers to calculate how many untruths and errors there are likely to be at this rate in the editorial columns of our contemporary in which Mr Tilak's political career is referred to. It is true, a little below the *Times* gives a fuller and more correct report of the funeral, but even there there is a glaring inaccuracy. The report indicating the route of the procession mentions Dhobi Talao and Princess Street after Girgaum giving the impression that the procession went along Girgaum Road towards Dhobi Talao and Princess Street where as in fact it never went in that direction! Obviously whoever "did" Mr Tilak in the *Times* never did himself or

Mr. Tilak justice. We wonder if our contemporary will have the decency to apologise to the dead Mr. Tilak for the triple injustice done to him.

The Bombay Chronicle.

MR. TILAK AND THE "TIMES OF INDIA"

II

We have received, and continue to receive, a very large number of communications which sufficiently indicate with what feelings of indignation the people of India regard the unjust and malevolent attack which our local morning contemporary indulged in—not when the patriot so attacked was there to meet the lying innuendoes and the perversions of facts, but behind the back of the dead. Even Mr. Tilak's bitterest political opponents never questioned his honesty and yet the *Times* speaks of Mr Tilak's attempts in connection with the Tai Maharaj case to "rehabilitate his moral character" and asserts that he succeeded in this "through a series of accidents" which escaped the attention of the highest courts in this country and in the Empire. The *Times* would do well to justify this assertion, which it dared not make at the time when the Privy Council reversed the decision of the Bombay High Court. Far from it being an accidental success for Mr Tilak, the judgment of the Privy Council had

some very pungent things to say of the irregularities of which the lower court had been guilty—irregularities which amounted to downright persecution of the mao. We shall not attempt here to dispose of the charge that Mr Tilak's political activities were anti British for the *Times* might as well characterise the activities of the Congress and those millions of his countrymen who acknowledged his political leadership as anti British. But it is an inexcusable and palpable lie to say that Mr Tilak's policy was anti Mahomedan. Every patriotic Mahomedan who knows what part Mr Tilak played in bringing about the Lucknow pact would repudiate such a base accusation. Then there is the charge of his having been a social reactionary. Every one knows that Mr Tilak did not take an active part in the social reform movement in this country. But, as is well known in private life he was the reverse of an unprogressive bigot. The basis of his apparent opposition or rather apathy towards the social reform movement was discussed in our leading article on Mr Tilak and we do not think we need add any thing to what we said.

AN ATROCIOUS LIBEL.

Our contemporary has also thought it fit to utter the following atrocious libel —

And when his activities produced amidst the uneasiness caused by the visitation of the plague and the measures which in the existing knowledge of the

disease were deemed necessary to combat it, the atmosphere which induced the murders in Poona in 1897, the prosecution in the High Court which resulted in his conviction and the light sentence afterwards reduced, he learnt nothing."

That it is the *Times of India* rather than Mr. Tilak, that has "learnt nothing" from past experiences, is proved by the journal's repeated offence in this respect during the last twenty-one years. If the public would turn to the old files of the *Times*, they would find the following apology tendered to Mr. Tilak by the journal in its editorial columns of 24th November, 1899.—

"Mr Tilak and the *Times of India*":
"With reference to the application made yesterday before the Chief Presidency Magistrate on behalf of Mr B G Tilak, it is right that we should state that yesterday's proceedings for the first time brought to our notice the paragraph whose publication is complained of. It appeared amongst a number of cuttings from the London Press, commenting upon the appointment of the new Governor of Bombay, which were selected and arranged by our London correspondent. On their arrival in Bombay they were inserted as received without unfortunately undergoing any revision, for a selection of comments by the Home press up on the appointment of Sir Stafford Northcote, is the last place in which one would expect to find objectionable matter. We

have no hesitation in saying that we in no degree associate ourselves with the views of the *Globe* that if the paragraph in question had been brought to our notice, it would at once have been struck out, and that we regret the insertion through inadvertence in our columns of statements which we regard as unwarranted, and as doing a serious injustice to Mr Tilak.

DISHONEST

The *Globe* of London which was originally responsible for the libel, tendered the following apology to Mr Tilak in its issue of 24th November 1900 —

The Bombay Governorship

Referring to a paragraph published by us on October 28 1899 under Notes of the Day with reference to the appointment of Sir Stafford Northcote as Governor of Bombay we published certain statements regarding of Mr Bal Gangadhar Tilak, who has been regarded for many years as one of the leaders of the native party in India. In that paragraph we stated that a campaign of murder had been directed by Mr Tilak if he was not its originator. Although we may not agree with the political course which Mr Tilak has from time to time adopted under no circumstances do we wish to do him any injustice. We have now satisfied ourselves by exhaustive inquiries in India, that it is

unfair to Mr. Tilak to have used that expression towards him and that the statement is incorrect, and under the circumstances we think it right to withdraw this imputation in the most unqualified manner, and to express to Mr. Tilak our regret for having made use of it "

It will be seen that the very libel, for which both the *Times* and the *Globe* tendered open apologies, has been repeated now by the former journal, in a most dishonest manner, when Mr Tilak is no more. The *Times of India* had another occasion to apologise to Mr. Tilak for a similar libel on him and that was in November, 1916, when the security case against Mr Tilak was being heard in the High Court. Shutting its eyes to the castigation which it received on these past occasions, the *Times* has attempted to desecrate Mr. Tilak's memory once more. We leave to the public to judge whether it was Mr Tilak or the *Times* that "learnt nothing" from the past. Our contemporary in summing up Mr Tilak's record, avers that he has left no constructive monument behind him. What more constructive monument would any Indian desire than that millions of Mr Tilak's countrymen should have been roused, for the first time, through his struggles and his sufferings, to regard themselves as Indians first, and everything else afterwards, and to assert their rights, no matter what difficulties and hostile influences stood in their way? The monument may

not be in bronze or stone or even in a single visible institution but it is enshrined in the hearts of his countrymen

The Bombay Chronicle

MR. TILAK AND THE TIMES OF INDIA

III

Sir —I am sending you a cheque towards the fund which I understand is being started to raise a suitable memorial to the departed patriot Bal Gangadhar Tilak. As a member of the younger generation who owed a great deal to Mr. Tilak's inspiring example of suffering and patriotism I can not help saying that no worse condemnation is needed of the out of date administrative system prevailing in this country than the circumstance that a person of the rare attainments of Mr. Tilak should have been compelled to enter into a bitter and life long opposition to Government, resulting in a fatigue which ultimately ended his life.

Essentially a man of peace and culture, with the refinement and reserve which high literary gifts often produce, Mr. Tilak would have risen in a country governed by its own people to the highest pinnacle of scholarship and statesmanship. That such a person should have been compelled, out of a feeling of generous self sacrifice to abandon early in

1900) he renewed his turbulent activities and was again convicted of sedition in 1908." The conviction by itself is no proof of his turbulent activities. It showed if anything the wrath of the bureaucracy against Lok Tilak, the lack of Freedom of the Press, and the absolute legal armoury, which has been the bane of India.

(3) Proceeds the *Times* :—"Afterwards there emerged the widespread conspiracies in the Deccan, which resulted in murder and grave plottings, which were directly attributed to the effect of his teachings." Is that so, Sir? Why, if Lok. Tilak's teachings were revolutionary in 1907-1908.

(a) How were the people of the Deccan so loyal?

(b) How did Mrs Besant endeavour to bridge the gulf between Tilak and the Congress?

(c) How did the Mahratta soldiers fight voluntarily and valiantly?

(d) How did the Deccan stand true to Government during the trying periods of the war?

(e) How had the great Gandhiji associated so whole-heartedly with Tilak?

(f) And how was he respected by independent Englishmen in Britain?

(4) Further the *Times* considers that "Lok. Tilak's moral character had suffered from the verdict

of the court in the Tal Maharaj case. We know that the prosecution in that case was little short of persecution and that Lok Tilak's reputation was untarnished from beginning to end.

(5) But the most unfair and unkind cut of all is the *Times* definition of Mr Tilak a Nationalism that it was mainly Anti British and Anti Mahomedan ! Misstatement cannot go further To say, that he was *Anti British* is untenable.

(a) If that was so how was the whole Deccan left unaffected ?

(b) How did all the Indian leaders work with him some time or another of his whole public career ?

(c) Why did he sue Sir V Chirol in England if he was Anti British ?

(d) Why did he cable to the Secretary of State and promise responsive co-operation ?

(e) Why did he serve on the Legislative Council at all ?

Then again to say that his Nationalism was anti Mahomedan is another mis statement. If that was so

(a) How has he supported Hindu Moslem Unity ?

(b) Why has he worked for the release of Mahomed Ali and Shaokat Ali ?

(c) And why has he strongly taken the side of the Mahomedans of India against the imposition of the iniquitous Turkish Treaty.

The *Times* leaderette is astoundingly antagonistic. Even the strongest critics of Tilak, Mrs. Besant, the Hon. Mr. Parnfrye and the Hon. Mr. Chintamani, have acknowledged Lok. Tilak's burning patriotism and service to the Motherland. Though Lok. Tilak is no more, his spirit is with us, and no mortal hand can taint or tarnish his work or career.

Barjorji Framji Bharucha

MR. TILAK AND THE "TIMES OF INDIA"

V.

Sir,—Although the *Times of India* in its issue of August 2, beginning its leaderette upon Lok. Tilak's death with the well-known proverb *Nil Nisi Bonum*, yet its language and tone are thoroughly mischievous. This shows the difference between the mentality and stand-point of Indians and Anglo-Indians. What is a national calamity to Indians, is a matter of gratification and exultation to the Anglo-Indians.

In this letter, as a Musalman, I take the opportunity of clearing one gross mis-representation which the *Times* was audacious enough to make. It twice mentions that Lok. Tilak was always anti-Moslem, and that his whole life was spent in

creating ill feeling between the two sections of the Indian population I emphatically deny this. On the contrary he was perhaps, the first apostle of Hindu Moslem unity. He was a thorough Nationalist. As a matter of fact, as Mr. Sankat Ali says Lok. Tilak had been preaching Hindu Muslim unity for the last 25 years and if Indians had paid heed to his doctrines, they would have got complete Home Rule by now. In the Lucknow Session of the 1916 Congress, a settlement was to be reached regarding the proportion of Hindu Muslim seats in the Councils of the different provinces. While a heated discussion was going on Lok. Tilak got up and remarked that Hindus could give any number of seats to Mussalmans, as they could not give them too much.

It is no humiliation to mention that our great Muslim leaders like Messrs. Sankat Ali, Mahomed Ali Kitchlew and Hasrat Mohani take pride in being called his party men. If one takes the trouble of going through the poetical works of Hasrat Mohani, one will be surprised to know how enamoured that great poet is of the departed leader. A poem composed by him twenty years ago was read at the Third Khilafat Day meeting in Bombay which brought tears to the eyes of the audience. Mr. Shankat Ali mentioned in the same meeting that he was proud of being a follower of Lok. Tilak.

As regards the Khilafat question, Lok. Tilak always assured Mr. Shaukat Ali that the question primarily lay with the Mussalmans; but whatever course they adopted to solve it, he and his party would follow Musalmans, irrespective of his own personal opinion. In the face of these assurances how can one venture to say that Lok. Tilak was anti-Moslem?

An idea of the amount of love that Lok. Tilak bore towards the Mussalmans may be formed from the frequent repetition, as his doctors say, of the words "Khilafat" and "Esakar" i. e., Non-Co-operation, even when he lay unconscious on his death-bed. They reflect the ideas which filled his mind in his last moments. Let every well-wisher of India derive inspiration from the last words of the true national hero.

Bashir Mahomed Khan.

MR. TILAK AND THE "TIMES OF INDIA."

VI.

Sir,—The accompanying is an open letter addressed by me to the Editor of the *Times of India*. I shall be obliged if you give room for it in the columns of your esteemed paper.

Sir,—It was with great regret that I read in your paper of 2nd August a leaderette headed "The

death of Mr Tilak, which I believe was meant to be an obituary note, but which I ultimately found to be an unrestrained expression of personal invective. I could hardly believe that you whom I always looked upon as a journalist whose writings were guided more by reason than by prejudice or personal animosities could let passion or personal prejudice get the better of reason. As one who has always been conscious of your qualities as a journalist I consider that I have the right to bring to your notice an error in judgment want of chivalry disregard for the feelings of the Indians of which I consider you to be guilty in respect of your leaderette referred to above. It would have been well if you had kept silent about the death of one of India's great patriots. It would even have been well if you had kept constantly in mind the opening words of counsel. I wish the paucity of goodness in Mr Tilak had indeed made you say little as you intended. It would have been better if you had finished the obituary (?) note at the enumeration of his qualities which even you perforce could not deny. The aim and object, as I take it to be, of an obituary note would have been well served. Nobody at any rate an Indian would ever have expected a wholesale appreciation of Mr Tilak's work in politics or an unstinted admiration for his virtues from you. It was equally unexpected that you would think it fit to pour on Mr Tilak's memory the

venom of personal invective within forty-eight hours of his demise. Even a dispassionate and fair criticism of Mr. Tilak's political thoughts, methods and public activities would perhaps have been considered inappropriate and irrelevant on the very morrow of his death. But your mischievous outburst—the un-Christian, and indecent haste to belittle Mr. Tilak, become more objectionable by reason of the baseless and untrue allegations contained in the article in question. This attitude of mind would have been bad enough and in bad taste even towards a living foe, (for it is no secret that in Mr. Tilak you and your class had an invulnerable foe), but adopted towards a foe who had “shuffled off this mortal coil” on the very morrow of his demise is indicative of a mental aberration of an unhealthy kind

Not one of your irresponsible and off-hand assertions can bear close scrutiny nor do they have any likeness to truth. The sudden turning taken by you from the enumeration of Mr. Tilak's talents to a lament that the same “were devoted to a life of political violence, social reaction and campaigning terrorism” reminds me of a picture of a vicious building successfully getting off the leash and snarling furiously at his foe. The confidence that I feel that you as a gentleman will make adequate reparation to the greatest wrong you have done to the memory of your great opponent, as well as to

the outraged feelings and sentiments of all Indians alike—Musalmans no less than Hindus, if the unwisdom of your conduct and incorrectness of your charges against Mr Tilak are brought home to you prompted me to address you this open letter

While in some places you have made deliberate misrepresentations in others you have not been free from sins of *suggestio falsi* and *suppressio veri*. Allow me to examine one by one the unjust allegations and test their veracity and correctness.

The statement that Mr Tilak was no friend of real political progress in India is a perversion of truth. For even his staunchest opponents while differing from his methods never could challenge his sincerity of convictions and his ardent desire to secure India's political emancipation. Indeed the very story of his life is one chapter of continuous struggle with the bureaucracy for the betterment of his country at great personal sacrifice. It is equally untrue to suggest that he was unfriendly to social reforms. He disagreed with those who thought that the only way to political progress was through the portals of social reforms and only honestly believed that political emancipation was in no way dependent upon social reform. To any student of history it will be manifest that Mr Tilak was not quite wrong in his opinion. Was the social condition of England so higher altitudes when the great Magna Carta was forced from the unwilling hands of King

John ? What, therefore, appears to Mr Tilak's critics an apathy towards social reform was in fact a definite position deliberately taken on the strength of his convictions. It is admitted that education forms an important part of social programme, nay, it is the basis of any real progress and it is equally well-known that Mr Tilak was one of the foremost in establishing the great public educational institutions in Poona, viz, the Deccan Education Society and New English School. Perhaps, you based your charge on the opposition led by Mr. Tilak at the time of the Consent of Age Bill. This is either ignorance of the different view-points of those who were for or against the Bill or a deliberate concealment of facts. A careful perusal of the literature on this controversy then published would convince any unbiased mind that Mr Tilak's opposition to the Bill was not due to any aversion to the reform covered by the Bill, but to his dislike in principle for Government interference in matters religious.

Being conscious of intellectual equality with the mighty talents of his times it was no wonder that Mr Tilak dared express views different from those held by Messrs Ranade, Gokhale, Mehta and Chandavarkar, for Mr Tilak was no respecter of persons, but a bold exponent of principles.

In his exaltation of Shivaji was apparent his desire to create a spirit of patriotism which was slumbering for some time past. To find in it a

motive for creating among the Hindus enmity towards Mahomedans does more credit to your morbid imagination than to your partiality for truth. Lack of national spirit was, alas! the feature of those times. The keen intellect of the astute

Chitpavan found in the revival of Ganpati Melas the surest means of creating and infusing the spirit of Nationalism in the minds of Indians. The partiality for the religious sentiments of the Indians gave the required impetus. Alas! these really are the great sins and it would be too much to ask you to forgive them. It is sheer calumny to accuse Mr. Tilak with enmity for Mahomedans. It is greater calumny to charge him with hatred for the British Government. As regards the first may I just refer you to his speech at the Lucknow Congress of 1916 on the Congress League Scheme resolution! May I ask you, Sir, is a single *educated* Mahomedan with you when you say this? May I ask you whether you are aware of the fact that the prominent Mahomedan leaders did actually carry the bier at the time of the funeral as it marched along Chowpati? This single incident will speak for itself. You say that Mr. Tilak's enmity to the Mahomedans was inferior only to his hatred towards British Government. If by British Government you mean the British Bureaucracy you are right for hatred breeds hatred as only love begets love. But if you mean by British Government governance by British

democracy, the charge is at once unjust and untrue. Have you taken the trouble to read the remarks of Mahatma Gandhi about Lokamanya Tilak made in the latest issue of *Young India*? May I now commend it to your attention?

Your ungenerous reference to Mr. Tilak's trial of 1908 and Justice Davar's passionate charge to the jury are in so bad a taste that the less said of it the better. As regards your mischievous insinuation that Mr. Tilak's writings at the time of the first out-break of plague at Poona created an atmosphere which induced the murders there in 1897, I would quote for your benefit from the *Leader* dated 4th August, the following.—"Plague broke out in 1896 and the Government measures for stamping it out, carried out by the agency of British soldiers with far greater energy than thoughtfulness, while they did not achieve that particular object, were instrumental in producing and accentuating popular misery and discontent. This feeling found vigorous expression in the columns of *Kesari* whose attacks were, of course, resented strongly by the officials concerned."

It was a piece of news worth knowing that after his release from Mandalay, where he was graciously afforded protection by the benign Government there was an exchange of confidences between you and Mr. Tilak, for I daresay it was not known even amongst his friends that after his release "he had set himself two objects" the rehabilitation of

his moral character which as we now understand from you had suffered from the verdicts of the courts in Tai Maharaj's case and rehabilitation of his political character against which stood the damning verdict of the High Court. It was also a piece of news to learn that Mr Tilak succeeded in getting the decision of the Bombay High Court reversed by the Privy Council more through a series of accidents than through the impartiality of their Lordships of the Privy Council and their desire to do justice on the merits of the case irrespective of the persons concerned. A publication of those series of accidents will undoubtedly lay the public under great obligations.

Your exultations over Mr Tilak's failure in the libel action is hardly creditable. Mr Tilak's seeking justice at the hands of an English Jury was indicative of that class of Indians who had superstitious faith in British justice. Thanks to the adverse result of that case, the great disillusion has at last dawned on us. The case as a whole forms a disgraceful chapter of English Legal History.

One more of your mischievous statements and I shall not trespass on your precious time any more. You could not have made a more astounding statement than when you said that Mr Tilak died *leaving behind him no constructive monument*. Was the New English School, the Fergusson College, the Paissa Fund of which you are perhaps

unaware, none the less monuments of his constructive capacity because he had severed connection from the former owing to two differences of opinion between him and his colleagues? Besides what great monument need there be than the spirit of nationalism infused by him and the awakening in India of the assertion of birth-right to freedom?

Had you perchance waited a little to see what men like Sir N. G. Chandavarkar, the Hon. Mr. Chintamani, the Hon. Mr. Paranjpye, thought and said about Mr. Tilak you would not have dealt Tilak's memory the unprovoked blow

To err is human. To know that one has erred is super-human. To admit and correct the error and repair wrong is divine. Is it too much, Sir, to ask you to make amends and like a man openly express regret for what was perhaps an "error of judgment"? Verily, he is blind who refuses to see—

Insignificant Independent

MR. TILAK AND THE "TIMES OF INDIA."

VII.

Sir,—Yesterday, Sunday, soon after the news of Mr. Tilak's death became the absorbing topic of the day it was a matter of speculation among many what the *Times of India* would write about the

great Indian patriot who was always the *belemore* of that journal. Most people of course guessed that some nasty things would be said about Mr Tilak but few expected a more pretty article as that which appeared in to day's issue of that journal on one of India's most remarkable sons. The universal sorrow among all classes of Indians and the imposing demonstration at his funeral yesterday are the best reply to the *Times of India's* opinion about the late Mr Tilak. It is not my purpose to enter into the details of Mr Tilak's political career. Every politician has enemies and Mr Tilak was no exception. No politician also is perfect and I admit that Mr Tilak might have had his faults. He was uncompromising unbending and so forth but he was not self seeking and inconsistent. He never swerved from the path he traced out and above all he always scorned the favours of the officials. Few men would have the courage to suffer twelve years imprisonment and other degradation for the sake of their country. Many of the arm chair patriots who are well favoured by the officials would have turned coat over and over again if they were to undergo such trials for the sake of their native land. Mr Tilak was thus a rare example of the true patriot so few in India. I have lived long enough in India to tell you that it was due to the agitation of Mr Tilak that India has been able to wrench the little she has from an unwilling bureaucracy. If today many

distinguished Indians are enjoying many facilities they never dreamt of twenty-five years ago they must assuredly thank Mr Tilak who for the last quarter of a century never ceased to agitate in favour of his countrymen. In the eyes of the Englishman Tilak was a dangerous agitator, but in the eyes of every right-minded Indian he was a true patriot who strove hard for his country and will always be so regarded.

Diogenes

MR. TILAK AND THE "TIMES OF INDIA" VIII.

Sir,—I extremely regret that no notice has been taken by the Bombay public of the most shameful attack on the late Mr. Tilak made by the Old Woman of Bori Bunder, whose senility is as apparent as her perversity is inexplicable. One can very well understand the Anglo-Indian attitude towards any progressive Indian ideal for the uplift of India, of which Mr. Tilak was a champion, but one fails to understand that the *Times of India*, of all other Anglo-Indian papers, comes out with a proof of such base ingratitude to the departed leader. It was in the year 1901, that the *Times of India* had to apologise to Mr. Tilak for copying a paragraph from the *Globe* (London) in which Mr. Tilak was

called an 'arch conspirator'. The *Globe* had to apologise and pay some fine which Mr Tilak had the generosity to give away to local charities. The *Times of India* was allowed to go away with a public apology. And because Mr Tilak did not insist on exacting a fine from this paper its counsel on this occasion (now late) Mr Macpherson characterised Mr Tilak's conduct in open court in the hearing of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Mr Tilak's counsel, as magnanimous! Let the *Times of India* publish that paragraph of apology and then justify its attack on the very man who treated it magnanimously. If I remember aright Sir Stanley (the simple Mr) Reed was at that time reporting for the paper of which Mr Bennett was in charge.—

Man-in the Street

MR. TILAK AND THE TIMES OF INDIA IX.

Sir —The leaderette in the *Times of India* of 2nd August regarding the late Mr Tilak came to me as a surprise. I was all the while under the impression that the *Times* edited by such a sympathetic Editor as Sir Stanley Reed was the sanest of all Anglo Indian sheets that are full of venom and abuse of Indians. The attitude throughout taken by the *Times of India* in connection

with Indian Reforms and the latest Dyer controversy confirmed this view. But I regret to say that this paper has now falsified my estimation and has beaten all Anglo-Indian record in denouncing Mr. Tilak's life and career. It has even surpassed decent journalism and no reader of the *Times*, be he a rabid Anglo-Indian or an ultra loyal Indian, I am sure, will subscribe to its view. The *Times'* attitude only shows that in whatever garb our enemies show themselves at times to the public at large, they are in their true colours when an occasion like this happens to come. I am neither a disciple nor a follower of Mr. Tilak and have even condemned some of his actions which did not meet with my approval. But every man who has not taken leave of his common-sense will emphatically say that Mr. Tilak was a sincere and courageous man who fought bravely and with a single hand for the uplift of his motherland and no man has suffered more than he for holding particular views which were unpalatable to the authorities to whom the destinies of India were committed. Mr. Tilak was a patriot of the first rank and his loss is irreparable at any time and particularly so at the present moment when his advice was keenly felt to solve many a national problem —

V. R. B.

DHARWAR MUNICIPAL PRESIDENT'S REPLY TO THE COLLECTOR.

[Mr A C L Emanuel Collector of Dharwar wrote on 5th August 1920 to the President Dharwar Municipality disapproving of the closure of the Municipal schools in honour of Mr Tilak's death]

The following is the President's reply —

We understand that Mr N G Kargudri B.A LL.B President, Dharwar Municipality, has addressed the following letter dated 11th August 1920 to Mr A E L. Emanuel, Collector of Dharwar

Sir — With reference to your office No Mun 445 dated 5th August 1920 I have the honour to forward herewith the true copy of the correspondence between me and the Chairman and the members of the Schools Committee. I am also forwarding herewith the resolutions of the General Committee held on the 9th instant at 5 30 p m which resolutions approve of the closing of the Municipal Schools on 2nd instant take strong objection to the remarks by the Collector concerning late Mr B G Tilak and deeply mourn his death and lastly place on record his eminent and invaluable services to India in general and to Local Self Government in particular

The above correspondence and the resolutions speak for themselves and they answer the first question in the affirmative.

I am, as President, more concerned with the second question, viz, whether I have any reasons to show why the Municipality should not be superseded on account of the closing of the schools. I think that I can show very satisfactory reasons in that respect and also for not taking the extreme action by Government as provided by the District Municipal Act

(a) Section 179 clause 1 of that Act gives powers to the Governor in Council to supersede a Municipality for some specified reasons and so the question is whether this Municipality has made any default or done any act justifying the Governor to take such a serious action against it. Certainly the Municipality in closing the schools cannot be considered to have shown its incompetency or to have made any default in performing its duties imposed on it by the Act or by any other law in force. The question will, therefore, be whether the Municipality has exceeded or abused any powers vested in it. I, however, fail to see how any of its powers have been exceeded or abused on account of schools being closed for the death of late Mr B. G. Tilak who was known as Lokamanya i.e., a man respected by the whole country or people.

POWERS OF MUNICIPALITY.

(b) This raises the question as to the powers of this Municipality regarding public education

imparted in the Municipal Primary Schools. The Schools Committee have, I think wide powers in the management of these schools under sections 27 and 28 of the District Municipal Act subject to the proviso to the section 58 of that Act. Under that proviso G. R. No. 2585 E. D. of 6—12—1894 has been issued defining the extent of independent authority of the Municipalities in respect of the public education and their relations with the Government Educational Department. The very first rule or para of this G. R. says power and duties of every Municipality in respect of the establishment and maintenance of Schools may *subject to the reservation and condition hereafter contained* and subject to such alterations as may from time to time be made be delegated to a Schools Committee, etc. But I find no reservations or condition in this G. R. regarding such matters such as closing schools for any reasons. Again the rules of this Municipality delegating their powers to Schools Committee sanctioned by the Commissioner S. D. in his No. P/1158 dated 4—9—1891 provide in rule No. 56 that in the Schools Committee shall be vested every power and duty in connection with the Educational matters devolving on the Municipality *unless specially reserved* by these rules. But I find no reservation in such matters in the rules. So the Act the G. R. and the rules of this Municipality have not curtailed the wide powers of the Municipality

especially in connection with the closing of the Schools for any sufficient reasons

(c) The question, therefore, is whether the Municipality has in this matter exceeded or abused its powers. As to the power of closing the schools for a day or two, there can be no doubt that such power does and must exist just like in the case of Government or private schools and colleges and the question of determining whether the ground of Mr. Tilak's death for doing so was sufficient entirely rested with the Schools' Committee as shown in para (b) above. The fact that there was no formal resolution of the School Committee in this respect is no ground since the Chairman being a Government servant did not like to sign the circular issued for the purpose. The majority of the members of the Committee were in favour of the proposal and actually took upon themselves the responsibility of closing the school in their charge under the urgent circumstances of the time. The majority considered and in my opinion, rightly, that the death of late Mr B G Tilak, whom the whole of India admired as a great scholar and leader and who was respected as Lokamanya throughout India, was more than sufficient ground for closing the schools as a mark of respect. The very fact that a number of Municipal Schools in many other Districts and places and even various private Colleges and Schools were closed on this very ground is a sufficient

reason to show that the Schools' Committee exercised their power wisely in this respect. Not only this but even the big Municipalities like those of Bombay Poona, Nagpur etc., have passed resolutions expressing regret at Mr Tilak's death and placing on record his eminent services for India. I therefore clearly am of opinion that the Municipality through the Schools Committee have neither exceeded nor abused their powers in this respect.

(d) Again I make myself bold enough to say that the Municipalities which form part of Local Self Government are not subordinate to the Collector or to the Governor in Council in all matters whether important or trivial except in matters specifically provided in the Act. The very first principle underlying the institution of Local Self Government requires as much non interference as is possible with the Municipal Administration by the Government authorities except in financial or other important matters affecting the interest of the Rate payers entrusted to the charge of the Municipalities. Is the interference threatened by the Collector therefore the one of the kind? I unhesitatingly and humbly say that it is not. I may further go to state that the remarks of the Collector in his letter qualifying the name of Mr B G Tilak viz. notorious and unrepentent criminal are most objectionable and insulting to all Indians as resolved by the General Committee.

1. It may be said that Mr. Tilak having been convicted for sedition the Municipality ought not to have shown respect to him by closing the schools. But here opinions differ. Some Government authorities may be against such a respect being shown to him especially because he in spite of his conviction persisted in severely criticising the Government and its measures whenever necessary. But in the eyes of the general public or of the majority of the same, such convictions did not make him less respected, since his writings and actions for which he was convicted were actually not by any selfish motives but solely for the good of the people and the country. It cannot be denied that he had a wonderful hold over the minds of the people on account of his great scholarship and his other various qualities of head and heart. I, therefore, think and hope that many will agree with me in so thinking, that it would have been a great sin and failure of duty if the Municipality had not shown respect to him by closing the schools. If, however, the Municipality is to be superseded for the simple reason that the schools were closed on account of Mr Tilak's death, then I for one consider that the privileges of the Local Government are not worth having.

2. Lastly, it is my bounden duty to inform that the Collector by his adjectives "notorious and unrepentent" given to Mr Tilak and by thus speaking ill of the dead has probably unwittingly wounded

the minds of the people to an enormous extent
I leave it to that officer whether he will find it
necessary to mend matters in time

I have the honour to be etc.

(Sd) N G KARGUDRI

President

Dharwar Municipality

MR EMANUELS CLIMB DOWN

REGRET FOR INTERFERENCE.

No 445

Dharwar 13th August 1920

From

A. E. L. Emanuel Esq M.A. I.C.S

Collector of Dharwar

To

The President Dharwar Municipality

Sir

I am instructed by Government to request that
you will consider my letter No M U N 445 of the
5th August 1920 as cancelled I am instructed to
express regret for having interfered in a matter
which is within the competence of the Municipality
and with which I am not concerned

I have the honour to be

Sir

Your most obedient servant

(Sd) A. E. L. EMANUEL

Collector of Dharwar

MR. EMANUEL AND JEWISH PSYCHOLOGY.

To the Editor of the *Chronicle*

Sr,—The attitude of Mr. A. E. L. Emanuel, Collector of Dharwar, over the closing of schools in Dharwar as a mark of respect for the memory of Mr. B. Gangadhar Tilak and the highly insulting language used by that officer with reference to a leader whose loss is deeply mourned by the nation, throws some light on the psychology of the Jewish race. For Mr Emanuel is a Jew and as such belongs to an ancient race that has suffered for its convictions untold miseries and persecutions from times immemorial, and in spite of which it has tenaciously preserved and handed down to posterity its noblest traditions and racial peculiarities.

As belonging to a race with such past records one would expect from Mr. Emanuel if not sympathy at least more considerate treatment, and certainly not the exaggerated outburst of unbecoming abuse and hostility towards a people's dead leader who had played, the most significant role in the struggle of his people for the realisation of its legitimate aspirations and ideals. For, it cannot be gainsaid that Mr. Tilak was a moulder of national ideals. At a time when there was no ray of hope and no hope of support Mr. Tilak formulated the basis of his political creed and worked singlehanded in

the face of the most rancorous opposition suffered for his convictions as no other man has done for India, and yet worked on and on until at the time of his death he had successfully moulded and welded the consensus of Indian opinion in favour of his creed. This was an epoch making achievement in the history of the Indian nation. There were many who differed from him and even condemned his methods but all his friends and foes alike give him credit for sincerity of purpose and the bold fight he put up for his convictions. Mr Tilak's imolation of self in the service of the motherland has evoked reverence from all quarters. Those who opposed him have not gone so far as Mr Emmanuel and it seems perplexing that this Jew should flatter louder than the rest of the bureaucrats.

The solution is to be found in a paper on the Jewish Race submitted by that great saint, Mr Israel Zangwill—also a Jew before the Universal Races Congress held at London in 1911.

In the course of his learned paper Mr Zangwill attributes to the Jew of the *Diaspora* what is known as *Marranism* or protective colouring. The Jew he says, feels consciously what the others feel subconsciously as a matter of course—a certain measure of *Marranism* or protective mimicry. In his words at any rate each section of Jewry wherever it is permitted entrance into the general

life invariably evolves a somewhat over-coloured version of the life in which it finds itself unbedded, and fortunate must be accounted the peoples which have at hand so gifted and serviceable a race, proud to wear their livery."

This must explain Mr. Emanuel's psychology extraneously exuberant with the essentials of the Bureaucratic element in this country

He has over-mimicked his role as a bureaucrat—even more than the rest of his confreres. But in doing so he has done great disservice to the ideals his own race has struggled for

DAVID S. ERULKAR,

Editor, The Israelite.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "CHRONICLE"

Sir,—Mr. Emanuel's regret for having interfered in a matter which was within the competence of the Dharwar Municipality is not enough. He should be made to 'withdraw' the unwise words he wrote about Mr. Tilak. That alone will bring him to his senses

A Correspondent.

MR. TILAK AND BOMBAY GOVERNMENT A GREAT OPPORTUNITY MISSED

The special correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* speaks thus of the action of His Excellency the Governor of Bombay in disallowing a resolution of condolence on the death of Mr Tilak who was once a member of the Bombay Legislative Council —

Optimistic members of the public who take interest in Council proceedings retained some hopes that the Government would allow the introduction of a resolution of regret at Mr Tilak's death at least when the discussion of matters of general public interest came up after the debate on the various bills but it is now common knowledge that the Government reply to the request on the part of a non official member was that fifteen days notice was not given. The honourable member is said to have retorted that Mr Tilak could not give him due notice of his death but now that he was dead ample notice would be given to Government of the intention to move a resolution of regret at the September session. Public opinion is sure to resent such callousness on the part of the authorities and it only indicates how contemptuous they are of public opinion. The death of Mr Tilak is to Government not such a matter of general public interest as to be allowed a reference in the Legislative Assembly of this Presidency.

while hours will be wasted in describing whether mamlatdars' posts should be recruited directly from graduates.

The *Indain Social Reformer* commenting on this says.—

The *Dhyanodaya*, the well-known Christian Missionary journal, voices the public disappointment at the action of his Excellency the Governor in disallowing a resolution of condolence on the death of Mr. Tilak who was once a member of the Bombay Legislative Council. Our contemporary observes — “It is a matter for profound thankfulness that the Non-Co-operation movement has so far proved unsuccessful and that the powers that we have acted so wisely in keeping hands off Mr. Gandhi, thus letting the movement ‘kill itself in idleness’ It is, however, matter for profound regret that the Government of Bombay has not acted with equal wisdom, tact and judgment in relation to the passing of the late Bal Gangadhar Tilak. For at least one hundred thousand people—one report says two hundred thousand—to assemble for the funeral of a popular hero and no representative of Government to be present is, to say the least, regrettable. More unfortunate still, in our opinion—for we have a consuming desire that Government shall stand well with the people—was his Excellency’s refusal of the earnest request of seventeen non-official members of the Bombay Legislative Council to

pass a resolution of condolence the refusal being on the merely formal ground that it was out of order for want of notice. We have differed as fundamentally as either our contemporary or the Government from the late Mr Tilak but when we remember that despite all his defects Bal Gangadhar Tilak was the first Indian scholar in Western India to set the self sacrificing example of living on thirty rupees a month in order to help his people when we remember that his purity of private life made him a model husband and father—so ran a resolution of Bombay Indian women and they ought to know—we say that a great opportunity has been missed by Government and others of identifying themselves with the feelings of the people.

MRS. BESANT'S APPEAL TO THE ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

The following is the full text of an appeal made by Mrs Besant to the All-India Congress Committee. It appeared as a supplement to *New India* on the 14th instant —

“NEW INDIA”

P. O. Box No 39,

Madras, April 7th, 1920.

To,

The President, Secretaries and Members of the All-India Congress Committee

Gentlemen,

I beg to lay the following facts before you as members of the All-India Congress Committee, since the honour of that body is affected by the serious misrepresentations and definite falsehoods made by one of its Secretaries, the Hon Mr V. J Patel, and one of its members, the Hon. Mr. G. S Khaparde

Mr. Patel, in an interview granted by him to the *Bombay Chronicle*, January 17, 1920, p 11, is reported as saying that he interviewed Messrs. Adamson, Henderson, Neil Maclean, M P, Tyson Wilson and several others and was constantly in touch with Mr Ben Spoor. He continued — “I found during my interview with these gentlemen

that Mrs Besant had asked the Labour members to support the Bill as revised by the Joint Committee and not to move any amendments. They accepted my view and rejected that of Mrs Besant.

Speaking at a public reception in Bombay reported in the *Bombay Chronicle* January 19 1920 p 13 Mr Patel after recounting his own efforts with the Labour Party said — At that stage it came to my knowledge and I mention it with very great regret and disgust that Mrs Besant was exerting herself to induce the Labour members to support the Bill as revised and not to give notice of any amendment (Shame)

These statements are entirely false. Some time before the revision at a meeting of our Indian Parliamentary Committee at which none of the above were present two Labour members expressed different opinions on the desirability of moving amendments. I suggested that the Labour Party might discuss the matter so as to act together when the Committee stage arrived. When I was having tea with Colonel Wedgwood M P at the House of Commons, we talked of the policy of moving amendments, and he expressed the view that if Colonel Yate moved reactionary amendments then as a matter of tactics some advanced amendments might be moved so that Mr Montagu might reject both and get his Bill through quickly. I

answered that he knew more of Parliamentary tactics than I, and I was content to leave them in his hands. Those are the only two occasions on which I spoke of amendments at all with members of Parliament, and in neither case did I ask members not to move any amendments. After the revision of the Bill, when Mr Patel says I was so active, I had no conversation with members, as I left London very soon after the Report was out.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Mr Patel has also stated on various occasions that I hindered the inclusion of Woman Suffrage in the Reform Act. On this Mr Khaparde supported him. He is reported as saying—" *Bombay Chronicle*", January 19, p. 13. "They had expected Mrs Besant to fight for woman Franchise in England, but she did not do so, to their regret." This is referred to in "On the Line", " *New India*", January 21, p. 8. In a letter from Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, it is said that the statement in Bombay caused Mrs Besant to be hissed (" *Bombay Chronicle*", January 21, p. 10). From this letter in the " *Bombay Chronicle*", I gather that he made other false statements. Mr Tilak also puts into my mouth at this same meeting words I never spoke, but as he laid down in a speech at Amritsar after the Congress the general theory that the use of falsehood is justifiable against a political opponent, it is not worth while to refute any particular untruth he may utter.

In my statement before the Joint Committee I wrote (vol 2, p 75) But my colleagues and I differ from him (Mr Banerjee) on the desirability of claiming woman suffrage as part of the present Bill. We urge that the objections to it are weak and artificial, and that it introduces a sex disability into Indian life that is alien to its whole spirit for in the elected Councils which have marked Indian civilisation from the dawn of history women were not barred and the idea of sex as a barrier only came with Western systems and even these did not succeed in barring University degrees to women. Woman suffrage has been carried in the two Congresses before which it has been brought, and in all the district and other Conferences where it has been proposed. Why should a fresh cause of agitation be set on foot by the Bill? With regard to that agitation I would refer the Joint Committee to page 5 in which it is pointed out that women's agitations in India are markedly formidable. They have already agitated with regard to South African troubles and succeeded. They have agitated also against the Fiji indenture system and formed a deputation to the Viceroy which obtained from him a promise that the indentures should be cancelled. And in other cases which they have taken up they have never yet failed in obtaining that which they desired even where men had failed partly because Indian men would not tolerate police interference where women are

concerned. Therefore, they have been able to carry out an agitation on lines where men have been stopped by the police, and it seems to me very undesirable that an agitation of that kind should be liable to be started by the very powerful section of educated women who are pressing for woman suffrage.

"It is true, as stated by Mr Banerjea, that there might be some objection from orthodoxy or conservatism. I should say from modern orthodoxy and modern conservatism. They object to the revival of the old Hindu custom of recognising woman's place in public life. Any objectors can easily stay away from the polls. There is no reason why they should be helped to keep away other women whose men wish for their help."

"NOT MUCH CONFLICT OF OPINION."

Mr Ben Spoor, M. P., said "1412. With regard to the question of suffrage for women, have you any special reason for desiring its inclusion at the present juncture? There is a conflict of opinion as to whether it would be wise to introduce it just now, or whether it would be better to defer it?—I do not think there is much conflict of opinion. It was said in the Franchise Report that very little evidence was offered against and that some was offered in favour of it. I do not think there would be a real conflict among people who take part in political life. The objection to it would be more

among classes which hold aloof from political life altogether and I do not think there would be any difficulty in recording the votes any more than there is in recording the Municipal Franchise votes.

1413 I was going to ask whether there would be any difficulty in devising some machinery for electoral purposes for women. It has been suggested that there are almost insuperable difficulties there?—There is no special machinery needed so far as we can judge from the Municipal Franchise. The parda is very limited in India though it exists largely in Beogal. But even in Bengal you have large numbers of educated women in the reformed sects which do not observe it and will take part in such franchise. There are no separate polling booths in Bombay for women voters and no separate arrangement as was established in Australia curiously enough when woman franchise was given. They collected the votes there at the women's houses. We do not ask for that. We think they could quite well go to the poll in the ordinary way as they now go to the Municipal Franchise and if we can judge from the franchise returns, it would mean at first only about one million women. That is only a very rough guess because it is founded on imperfect knowledge. We think the numbers would be limited chiefly to the educated classes present, but that would very quickly pass, and more and more would come in but they would come in gradually. We do not think the

number of abstentions is important, seeing how many abstain even over here. ”

The following took place between Major Ormsby-Gore, M. P., and myself. “ 1426 With regard to Women’s Suffrage, has Women’s Suffrage existed for municipal franchise outside Bombay ? —It exists in some other towns as well. Do you mean outside Bombay City or outside Bombay Presidency ?

“ 1427. Bombay Presidency ?—It is in all the Municipalities there. It did exist at one time in Madras. I am not able to find any reason for its being withdrawn, except by what was called a reactionary Municipality. No complaint was made that it was ill-used or misused in any way. There seems to have been a sort of wave of prejudice

“ 1428 It was not used much ?—No. But it is not allowed even for the professional or trading tax. I pay very heavy rates, but I have no vote.”

“ 1429 Would you be willing to leave the decision of a question like Women’s Suffrage to the various Legislative Councils in the Provinces ? That is to say, would you agree to an amendment of the Bill in your direction which said that Legislative Councils should have power to grant women votes if they saw fit before the ten years period ?—Yes ; I should, if the principle were established in the Act by removing the sex disqualification, *as being better*

than total exclusion (ital mine) and because I believe that the more power is given to Legislative Councils the nearer we are to full responsibility and I think that the vote of the Legislative Council on a matter of that sort in fact on most matters ought to be listened to as much as possible even though it may entail a certain want of logic and a certain want of principle.

1430 Is that your own view on the question of the woman's franchise?—I was asked to represent a number of women's associations and I do not know how far they would agree with the answer I must give it as a personal answer, not as one for those who asked me to represent them because it has never been raised so far as I know

In addition to this evidence one of my first lectures in London was for the Woman's Freedom League, with Mrs. Despard in the chair and I gave three other lectures on this subject in London only as well as speaking on it in my country lectures, speaking on a deputation to Mr Montagu in favour of it and urging it strongly on him in more than one interview All this is well known in England Testimony from others is available. Mrs. Despard writes

MRS. BESANT AND INDIAN WOMAN'S
FRANCHISE.

Nine Elms,

London, 26th February, 1920.

The Editor of "the *Bombay Chronicle*."

Dear Sir,

I have seen the issue of your paper in which Mrs. Besant's work in England is defended. The article is a spirited one and I hope it will open the eyes of many in India, although, indeed "none are so blind as those who will not see."

Knowing Mrs Besant and having followed her work closely and with the keenest interest for many years, having also been present (several times in the chair) when she dealt with the question of the suffrage for Indian women, I am able to speak with some authority on this side of her work.

The assertion that to the regret of a certain critic, she did not fight for the inclusion of women's suffrage in the Montagu-Chelmsford Bill, is to me almost ridiculous Mrs. Besant, always and everywhere, has been loyal to women: she has always claimed for them equal status, rights, privileges and opportunities with men

That which made her propaganda so peculiarly interesting and instructive to British audiences and especially to women was, in the first place, her clear

demonstration of the fact that the distinction between men and women politically as embodied in the Bill would be a new departure in the history of India. She showed in the second place that women in Indian society are not the subject inapt human beings that many Europeans imagine them to be. The pictures she drew of home life in the country which is so dear to her will remain long in the memories of those who saw them through her eyes.

I am one of those whom the decision of the men politicians over here disappointed bitterly. But knowing something of the feelings and views of Indian men I firmly believe that the women of India will not have to fight as their sisters in Britain were compelled to do to achieve their political freedom.

They I am sure will recognise how finely and how loyally Mrs. Besant has supported them.

(Signed) C. DESPARD

[Mrs. Despard is perhaps the foremost worker in Great Britain for political franchise for women. She is a sister of Lord French Viceroy of Ireland — Ed., N I.]

MRS. TATA'S CERTIFICATE.

Mrs. Tata writes

To the Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*.

Sir,

I hope you will be good enough to publish the following in your paper.

I read in some of the papers received from India that it has been maintained in certain quarters that Mrs Besant has not worked to help the cause of women's franchise when she was here last year.

Whatever Mrs Besant's attitude or work may have been with respect to other questions in the Reform Bill, though that work was great, I have no wish to discuss it. But I feel bound to contradict the statement that Mrs Besant did not work for women's franchise, or even that her work in that direction was negligible. I have seen her work, and have had the honour of working along the same lines with her, and I can safely say that no *single* individual has done more for the women's cause.

First and foremost I must say that we are very thankful to her for the help and advice she gave us whenever we wanted it. It was Mrs Besant who gave us the opportunity of first putting our case before the public, by arranging a public meeting for us at a short notice of one hour at Harrogate and announcing the meeting at one of her public lectures

at the Grand Opera House so that we had a very good and openly interested audience to begin with. She introduced us to many of the suffrage societies, for she rightly said that though something had been done to awaken public interest in the women's question it was very necessary to educate the average British elector man and woman about the women of India to dispel certain wrong ideas, hence it was necessary to tour round the country and speak at different places.

Any one who sees the best of her activities here on behalf of India cannot but be struck with the amount of places she has visited and the lectures she has delivered.

I have heard her speak on India and Home Rule or other allied subjects many times at different places and usually she devoted a part of her lectures to women's franchise the need for it the duty of the British electorate especially of the enfranchised women towards Indian women. It was at her request that a big public meeting on votes for Indian women was held under the Women's Freedom League as well as the second meeting organised by the Women's International League.

Whether they agree with Mrs Besant's political or religious views or not feminists and suffrage-workers look upon her as a comrade-in arms a person who had always fought for women's emancipation and it is strange that people in India should

think that now she did not advocate a cause so dear to her heart. Often we heard women say to us—“We were so interested in what Mrs. Besant said about India and Indian women that we want to know more.”

The opinion that she weakened the cause rises, I think, from the fact that Mrs Besant in her evidence before the Joint Committee, when questioned by Major Ormsby-Gore whether she would be willing to leave the question of women's franchise to be settled by the various Legislative Councils, replied in the affirmative. However much we would have liked an immediate declaration of the grant from Parliament—if it were possible—Mrs Besant expressed it as a personal opinion, and even then modified it strongly, for I read in the minutes of evidence (Blue Book, Vol II, p 81), that in her answer she said:

“Yes, I should, if the principle were established in the Act by removing the sex disqualification, as being better than total exclusion, and because I believe that the more power is given to Legislative Council the nearer we are to full responsibility, and I think that the vote of a Legislative Council on a matter of that sort, in fact on most matters, ought to be listened to as much as possible, even though it may entail a certain want of logic and a certain want of principle” The whole of her evidence on this question ought to be taken into consideration, and

oot ooly a part and there she has spokeo as strongly as soy one else on the question. However much people may lameot this part of her evidence, it can not take away a little from the work that she has done for the cause nor cao it be suggested oo these grounds, that she did oot work for women s franchise

I may add that Mrs Besant did not stand alooe in her opinion on this questioo many suffrage workers shared the same opinion and though they would have liked to see their Parliament do justice to Indian women they thought it was a safe course to leave the question to the Legislative Councils, the Parliament acquiescing in the principle of equal cituxenship and they hope that the men of India will do justice to their women and they will sooo be eofranchised

I hope I have been able to make both the sides of the question clear I remain Sir yours etc.

Herabas A Tata

16 Tavistock Square
London W C I

This should I think suffice to prove Mr Patel s and Mr Khaparde s falsehoods on this matter My first public lecture in 1874 was on Woman Suffrage and I have worked for it ever since. This is well known in England but these men take advantage of Indian ignorance.

MR. KHAPARDE.

Turning to Mr Khaparde alone, I submit that he has on other matters also spoken falsely

Mr Khaparde, in a speech delivered at the Gaikawad, Poona, reported in the *Lokasangraha* of January 19, shamelessly insulted me by calling me the Putana, the Rakshasi, the treacherous- would-be murderess of Shri Krishna He is reported to have said

"The aunt Putana, who had come to England, spoke sweet words outwardly, but did not shrink from working against us She had planned to deceive us at the Albert Hall meeting, but by the reasoning skill of Mr. Tilak the situation was saved Balvantrao held the big audience of four to five thousand people spell-bound, and gained a victory over it by getting a resolution passed according to his views (Loud applause.) We then went to see if she had become angry after being thus put to shame She said that Mr Tilak showed great skill at that meeting, but she expressed deep regret that what happened at that meeting, should have been very bad . . . Mrs Besant also. tried to induce the Executive Committee of the Labour Party not to put our suggestions before the Parliament, but she could not do anything there "

A TISSUE OF FALSEHOODS

This is a tissue of falsehoods The resolution ran. "That this mass meeting of British citizens,

holding that the existence of the British Commonwealth is dependent upon the right of Self Government being conferred on each of the Nations within its boundaries, hereby declares that the Indian people are entitled to receive at the earliest opportunity the full right of self determination. This was placed on the agenda by the conveners of the meeting having been first approved by myself. *United India* October 29 1919 remarks. A small group of Irreconcilables wished to move an amendment rejecting the Bill before Parliament but as it was in no sense an amendment the Chairman ruled it out of order. Mr Tilak whose rising was interrupted by the would be amender pointed out this elementary rule with good natured ridicule remarking that surely no Indian wanted to vote against Self Determination for his country. I supported the resolution and Mr Tilak, did the same later in the meeting and it was passed as originally moved. Mr Khaparde was present, and his statement deliberately falsifies what occurred. His allegation that we then went to see her etc. is ludicrous. He and his friends did not come near me though I was sitting next the Chairman. The passing of the resolution I had approved and supported could not have put me to shame and the whole statement is deliberately false. The final paragraph is equally false, as noted in the case of Mr Patel. Mr Khaparde apparently did not tell his audience that

the foolish tactics of moving the amendment advocated by the Congress Secretary on Woman Suffrage led to an overwhelming defeat, which we should have escaped had the amendment not been made, so that, thanks to him, it stands on record that Woman Suffrage in India was rejected by an immense majority in the House of Commons

In the *Sandesh* of January 20th, Mr Khaparde is reported as saying :

“Mrs Besant also ran to England To the question : ‘Why have you come?’ Her reply was that she was once the President of the Congress. To the question : ‘Have the people elected you as their representative?’ Her reply was that the people had become fools Now are the people fools or is she a fool, not being elected by the people?”

I need hardly say that this is mere buffoonery, and that such questions and answers are imaginary But the extract shows the style of Mr. Khaparde's graceful oratory I am told that he has applied to me epithets used only of the most degraded class of women, but of this I have no proof

To his epithet of Putana I replied as follows in *New India*, February 11, 1920, when his speech was shown to me. “I have read in the paper a report of a lecture by the abovenamed (‘The Hon. Mr. Khaparde’ was the heading) in which he compares me to Putana, the Rakshasi. To apply such

a name the name of the would be murderess of Shri Krishna to the lowest and vilest of human beings would be an intolerable insult To use it of one with whom he disagrees is Mr Khaparde's idea of political controversy I do not think that any of his political rivals in the Extremist camp will be able to outdo him I have long revered Shri Krishna as the Jagat Guru and it is unwisely done to invite His attention to insult hurled at even the humblest of his devotees.

PUBLIC INSULT

Messrs Patel and Khaparde have been going about the country repeating these falsehoods, and by thus deceiving the people have exposed me to public insult and seriously injured my work. They doubtless thought that they were safe in misrepresenting to Indians what I had done in Britain. But they are mistaken. I do not complain of any attack on my opinions but I do complain of these shameless falsehoods about my actions holding me up as a traitor to the country to which I have sacrificed everything that most people hold dear.

I ask the All India Congress Committee, as men of honour to dissociate themselves publicly from the proceedings of these two members, so that they may not share in the disgrace of their methods. The public life of India is souled by such slanders and all who care for the cleanliness and decency of

that public life should condemn those who use them.

I understand that a majority of the All-India Congress Committee has voted for Mr. Patel as Congress delegate to England. I am sending this letter, as the Committee is not meeting, to its members, in order that he may have the opportunity of answering it before he goes. I do not think that Englishmen of honour will appreciate the choice of such a representative by the Committee. They fight in politics, but they with clean weapons and do not bear false witness against their neighbours.

Sincerely,
Annie Besant.

REPLY TO MRS BESANT'S APPEAL.

MR. TILAK ANSWERS ALLEGATIONS

The following reply to Mrs Besant's allegations has been issued by Mr Tilak —

Kesari Office,
Poona City
April 16 1920

To

The President Secretaries and Members of
the All India Congress Committee.

Gentlemen

I find that Mrs. Annie Besant has circulated an appeal to you calling upon you to dissociate yourselves publicly from the utterances of the Hon Mr Khaparde and the Hon Mr Patel re Mrs Besant's attitude in England towards the work of the Congress Deputation and accusing the two Hon members of shameless falsehoods which she has tried in her own dexterous way to expose and contradict by her own suppressions of truth and suggestions of falsehood and taking credit to herself for cleanliness and decency in public life which many of us however have learnt to disbelieve from our experience of the several methods employed by the lady in her handling of public questions. The appeal is dated 7th April but was not published till a week later i. e., 14th Inst when the Hon Mr Patel was to and did sail for England. This fact

could have been easily ascertained by any one interested in the matter. If Mrs. Besant really wished that Mr. Patel should have an opportunity to reply, she ought to have published her appeal much earlier, especially as the matters complained of in her appeal had happened in January and February last. She did not do so and yet she claims fairness for herself in her controversial methods. It seems to me therefore that her appeal is only an attempt to damn Mr. Patel behind his back and thereby prejudice the British public against him in the mission now entrusted to him by the All-India Congress Committee in spite of Mrs. Besant's adverse vote.

I have no desire to belittle Mrs Besant's high intelligence, unflagging capacity for work, her great learning or her rousing eloquence. That again is not the question before us. What Mr Khaparde and Mr Patel had to say against her was that in spite of her great qualities her work in England proved to be a source of embarrassment to the work of the Congress Deputation. She might have been right according to her own view in her work in England. For she is accustomed to put high value upon her own views even when they are opposed to the opinion of organised popular bodies like the Indian National Congress. She must lead, she must boss every movement she joins, and you are well aware how she refused to be guided by the Delhi mandate of the Indian National Congress, and

how in consequence she was excluded from the Congress Deputation. She then tried to be appointed on the deputation to be sent by the All India Home Rule League, and having failed therein this ambitious self-willed lady organised a new Home Rule League of her own with only a few dozen members, almost all her own followers and got herself appointed as the leader of the deputation on behalf of that new Home Rule League simply to give her an opportunity to pose as a representative of India and to enable her to represent before the British public her own views although they were rejected by the Indian National Congress. I admit that every person has a right to propagate his views whatever they may be, but when a person takes full advantage of his or her position as ex-President of the Congress to mislead ignorant men and women in England and tries to thwart the work of the duly appointed Congress Deputation I must say that the method adopted by such a person is open to grave objection on the ground of decency and scrupulousness in public life. I would ask one question to Mrs. Besant. What did she go to England for? To plead the views of the Indian National Congress, or those of her own Home Rule League? If the former she failed to do her duty if the latter she can't complain of being charged with having like the Moderates, embarrassed the work of the Congress Deputation. Her appeal to you therefore is based on a fundamental error in her reasoning and only betrays a pitiful desire on

her part to set herself right with you and the public in spite of the fact that she not only set aside the Congress view altogether but always tried to put her own view before the British public in opposition and as 'superior to that of the Indian National Congress. I do not think that the All India Congress Committee can take up the question raised by her in her appeal to you. The Moderates may make a similar appeal tomorrow and ask the All India Congress Committee to condemn those persons who did their best to convince the British public that under the present circumstances the Congress view alone represented the selfdetermined opinion of the people of India, and that the dissenters therefrom were an insignificant minority in the country and that in putting forward their views they only desired to claim superior wisdom for themselves, or to proclaim their submissiveness to the authorities in India, either of which your deputation had no desire to advocate. Your deputation was bound by your mandate and scrupulously avoided going beyond or behind it. The Congress Deputation went to England *apke vaste*, but solely to support and advocate to the best of their ability the Congress view.

ALLEGED MISREPRESENTATIONS

I shall refer to Mrs Besant's attack on myself last. She charged Messrs Khaparde and

Patel with certain misrepresentations and falsehoods which it is not necessary first to take up as they form the gravamen of her appeal to you. What are the alleged misrepresentations? An analysis of her appeal shows that they are four in number

(i) Mrs. Besant exerted herself to induce the Labour members to support the Bill as revised by the Joint Committee without moving any amendments

(ii) Mrs. Besant was expected to fight for Woman Franchise in England but she did not do so

(iii) She had planned to deceive us (the Congressmen) at the Albert Hall Meeting

(iv) She is compared to Putana, the Puranic female demon by Mr. Khaparde.

Mrs. Besant has tried in her own clever way to justify her attitude on all these questions but let me assure you that her defence is specious and false from beginning to end. First of all I fail to see how she who after being deliberately excluded from the Congress and the All India Home Rule League Deputations on account of her haughtiness had to form a League of her own to give her the appearance of an Indian representative and who went to England in the hope of outwitting and outdoing the Congress Deputation can ever claim not to have acted in opposition to the Congress view. I would ask you to fix your attention on the aspect of the question

so narrowed. For the Congress Deputation never denied that she did some good work in England. The complaint was directed not against the amount but against the character of her work in England from the Congress point of view, in other words, they complained—and justly complained,—that her work there was anti-Congress in character. Her work was manifestly intended to set up her own personality against the Congress which with the Moslem League, now admittedly represents the most complete and most authoritative opinion of Indian people as a whole. But we have nothing to do with this personal aspect of Mrs. Besant's work. In the absence of Mr. Patel, I shall therefore, reply to the above questions only so far as to show that Mrs. Besant's work in relation thereof was anti-Congress in character.

OATH AGAINST OATH?

The first question is: whether she did or did not try to induce the Labour members to support the revised Bill in order, as she supposed, to fortify Mr. Montagu's position in the House. Mr. Patel says that she did; and she denies with the remark that the evidence on the point resolves itself into her word against his oath, against oath, as the lawyers would call it. I must say that I would rather believe Mr. Patel than Mrs. Besant in this matter. For I know something of the previous history in this connection. Both the Congress Deputation and Mrs. Besant

looked to the Labour party to have their views represented in the House and the Labour party was naturally put in a fix as to whose view they should adopt. The Deputation represented the Congress, while Mrs Besant represented only herself and her own newly formed League, after she was excluded by her own arrogance from the Congress Deputation. The Deputation including myself had to explain this difference to the Labour leaders who then I know had no difficulty in giving preference to the Congress view as against Mrs. Besant's. This is therefore not a case of oath against oath but of the Congress deputation as a whole against Mrs Besant, as will be shown later on. I have therefore no hesitation in saying that Mrs. Besant has entirely misrepresented the matter to you when she says that the case rests only on her word against Mr Patel's and that the latter's statement is entirely false. Mrs Besant may be in touch with and talking under the inspiration of Mahatmas but for all that I join my testimony to that of Messrs Patel and Khaparde in asserting that her attitude in this matter was against the Congress Deputation. When she went to England I was one of those who received her on the railway platform and in an interview which took place soon after I requested her to forget her quarrels with the Delhi Congress and so shape her work in England as to support the Congress view. She did not give a definite reply

but her future work showed clearly that she was all for herself and not for the Congress, evidently intending to show that she it was who alone awakened the sense of political freedom in India, and therefore her view was the correct one, in spite of what the Congress might have resolved to the contrary. Her ambition to boss the whole show and to claim for herself the entire credit for work in England, was, in my opinion, the main object of all her activities in England, and under such psychological conditions one can easily believe that she must have asked the Labour Party to accept her view in preference to that of the Congress Deputation in regard to the revised Bill; and her views regarding the revised Bill,—which was eventually passed unaltered by the House,—are well-known. She seems to me to be evidently chafing at the rejection of her proposals by the Labour party in this matter. She boasts of having formed a Parliamentary Committee in England. But let me tell you that this Committee was organised by me long before her arrival in England, and Mrs. Besant silently usurped the Secretaryship thereof immediately after [her arrival. The Congress Deputation could not acquiesce in this usurpation, and if Mrs. Besant wishes to be fair and reasonable I would ask her to publish what advice she gave to this Parliamentary Committee from time to time

WOMAN SUFFRAGE

As regards the second question namely the Woman Suffrage the Depntation never denied that she was in favour of it. She advocated it in India on the Congress Platform and was at first of opinion that it should be included in the new Act. We expected that she would strenuously and consistently fight for it but she eventually changed her mind as would be seen from the extracts from her evidence given by herself in her appeal to you and abandoning the Congress view which she supported in India, adopted the official view that the decision may be left to the Local Legislatures. Mrs. Despard's and Mrs. Tata's letters quoted by her throw no light on the point at issue. She might be wise or foolish in thus toning down her own view to suit the changed circumstances but that she did tone down or change is beyond dispute. It is no wonder if this prejudicially affected her advocacy of the subject. Mr. Patels and Mr. Khaparde's contention is therefore absolutely correct, notwithstanding Mrs. Despard's and Mrs. Tata's evidence quoted by Mrs. Besant. She was expected to put a brave fight for Woman Suffrage on the Congress lines adopted by her in India. She did not do so but fell a victim to the official view cleverly put to her by Major Ormsby Gore in his cross examination and eventually accepted it in preference to the Congress view which advocated

the inclusion of the grant of Woman Franchise in the Act itself and not leave it to the Local Legislatures. She did work for Woman franchise but not in the way the Congress wanted, but according to her own ever-changing notions of expediency. It was no fault of the Congress Secretary if the British Parliament negatived the amendment incorporating the Congress view on the subject. The British Parliament has very often done worse, but because it might so act again, it would be foolish not to boldly press our view upon its attention.

ALBERT HALL MEETING

The third question refers to the Albert Hall Meeting. Mrs. Besant tells you that it was she who supported the resolution and that she could not therefore be charged with going against the Congress view. I was personally concerned in the affair and I assure that the matter is misrepresented to you by Mrs. Besant. Throughout her stay in England Mrs. Besant was anxious to support Mr. Montagu's Bill. It is true that she wanted it to be improved if possible, on lines suggested in common by "All the Progressive Deputations," by which she meant not the Congress view alone, but the view common to all the deputations, that is, evidently the lowest demand, for that alone could be common to all. She also held that the efforts of the Secretary of State for India were directed

to carry out the Declaration of 20th August 1917 and therefore required to be strongly backed up. The resolution which was to be submitted to the 'Conference on India' held under her presidency on October 4th 1919 was drafted on these lines. The members of the Congress Deputation were invited to this Conference but they could not evidently lend their support to such a resolution for, to speak of what is common to all, the deputation was tantamount to giving up the Congress case. The Deputation therefore were opposed to such a course and informed the organisers of the meeting accordingly. The result was that Mrs Besant in her opening address as President declared that no resolutions were to be submitted to the Conference. *I have in my hand all the correspondence on the subject and challenge Mrs. Besant to say whether her attitude on the subject was not hostile to the Congress Deputation.* She might reply by saying that she wanted to bring about reconciliation between different Deputations and eventually dropped the resolution as it was opposed. But even such an excuse is impossible. For she knew that the Congress Deputation had already tried to bring about such reconciliation but both the Moderates and herself would not have anything of the kind except on their own lines. Her intention in having the above resolution submitted for adoption at the above Conference on India was therefore, a clever

device to get the British public committed against the Congress view. And had it not been for the watchfulness of the members of the Congress Deputation and the British Congress Committee, the attempt might have succeeded. The case of the Albert Hall Meeting is still worse. This meeting was held on October 25th 1919 under the auspices of the Home Rule League for India Branch, established by Mrs. Besant in London, and therefore under her guidance. The resolution eventually submitted to and passed at the meeting was as follows —“That this mass meeting of British Citizens, holding that the existence of the British Commonwealth is dependent upon the right of self-government being conferred on each of the nations within its boundaries, hereby declares that the Indian people are entitled to receive, at the earliest opportunity, the full right of self-determination” Mrs. Besant has correctly quoted it and it is also true that she supported it. But this is only the last part of the story, and what passed previously has been very cleverly suppressed by Mrs. Besant. As the meeting was financed and convened under her guidance, she did not invite the members of the Congress Deputation to be present at, or to take part in, the proceedings of the meeting. It was Mr. Lansbury, the Chairman—elect, who was kind enough to invite me on the occasion. I asked for the resolution which was to be put to the meeting,

and the copy I received from the Besant Home Rule League Secretary revealed that, in addition to the resolution eventually passed, it was at first proposed to welcome therein the introduction of the Indian Reform Bill as a first step towards the fulfilment of the declaration made in the House of Common on August 20th 1917. Some changes in the Bill were also proposed but they were only recommendatory and not by way of necessary conditions for making the Bill a real first step according to the Congress view. I could not agree to such a resolution and I said that I would rather be absent from the Meeting than support a resolution against the Congress view. The Chairman clearly realised my difficulty and asked the organisers of the meeting to confine the resolution only to the first paragraph viz. the portion eventually passed asking that the rights of self government and self determination should be granted to Indians at the earliest opportunity. Mrs. Besant had then to support the resolution as finally settled but in her speech she supported Mr Montagu's Bill in unmistakable terms and I had to contradict her and to ask the proposers of the amendment who advocated the rejection of the Bill to look only to the resolution before the meeting and not to what Mrs. Besant had said in giving her support. This will show you Gentlemen how at the Albert Hall Meeting Mrs. Besant wanted to adopt the same

tactics as at the 'Conference on India' and had to give them up because they were opposed by the Congress Deputation. She was ever eager to support Mr. Montagu as much as she could, whereas the Congress Deputation always looked upon the Bill as unsatisfactory until the minimum demand formulated by the Congress was included in it. It may be wise or unwise to insist on the Congress view till the last. But that is another question. We have now to see whether Mrs. Besant did or did not try to induce the British public and the Labour Party to take up her view on the Reform Bill in opposition to that of the Congress.

SELF-DETERMINATION.

The above facts will show that she did so, and that if she failed, it was due to the efforts of the Congress Deputation. The members of the All-India Congress Committee, who were present at the subjects Committee of the Congress at Amritsar, know very well how Mrs. Besant tried to avoid the question of self-determination to be taken up by the Congress and why her amendment to the Reforms resolution did not contain any reference to self-determination. Self-determination means the determination of the nation, and Mrs. Besant is too clever a woman not to see that if the principle were once accepted, neither she nor the Moderates could legitimately claim to be heard in preference to the Congress. I therefore, deliberately assert

with Mr Khaparde and with Mr Patel that Mrs Besant did her best by questionable manoeuvres and devices to outwit the Congress Deputation in England. The history of her previous quarrel with the Congress in India may be regarded by her followers as justifying her conduct in England but the members of the Congress Deputation it will be seen are nevertheless quite right in condemning her conduct as directly or indirectly opposed to the Congress propaganda in England. Mrs Besant, I regret to say has failed to place the whole truth before you on this subject. If any one is to be charged with falsehoods it must be Mrs Besant herself. Twice at any rate she to my knowledge attempted to entrap or outwit the members of the Congress Deputation and if she did not succeed it was due to the incessant watchfulness of the Congress Deputation itself. While speaking of the Albert Hall Meeting Mr Khaparde is reported to have further stated that we then went to see if she had become angry after being thus put to shame etc. I don't vouch for the correctness of the translation. I only refer to Mrs. Besant's contradiction thereof. Interpreting the word then in the above statement as equivalent to then and there she contradicts Mr Khaparde by asserting that he never met her at the Albert Hall Meeting and characterises his statement as 'deliberately false'. Poor Mrs. Besant! She seems to have forgotten her

English in the fury of her passionate attack on Mr. Khaparde. Let me therefore remind her that the meeting to which Mr Khaparde refers was the one which we, meaning Mr. Khaparde and myself had with her at her Home Rule League Office, soon after the Albert Hall meeting, when I went there to take her leave as I wanted to sail for India in that week I also assert, that Mr. Khaparde has correctly described what happened on that occasion. I don't know if Mrs Besant keeps a diary. But if she does, she will find this meeting recorded in it. If any one is to be charged with ludicrous falsehoods in this matter it is certainly Mrs Besant and not Mr Khaparde.

MR. KHAPARDE'S ATTACK.

Fourthly, Mrs Besant complains of her being compared to the treacherous Putana by Mr. Khaparde Now who is Putana? She was a demon employed to entrap and kill Shri Krishna by his enemies She tried to do this by affecting to feed him at her breast and in the attempt brought death on herself. Mrs Besant may not have been employed by anybody, but she admittedly quarrelled with the Congress at Delhi and went to England with the deliberate object to push her views in preference to that of the Congress and thus establish her supremacy in matters political. In other words she desired to kill the Congress, if we may so call it, by pretending to speak for the nation. She failed

in the attempt, and found her view rejected even by people on whom she mostly depended. She met the same repulse at the Amritsar Congress which she hastily came to attend and also very recently at the Bombay Provincial Conference at Sholapur. The Putana story is therefore the best Pnranic illustration to describe her efforts and conduct in this behalf and let me inform Mrs. Besant that Mr Khaparde is not alone in using this expression. One may think that one need not be so harsh on Mrs. Besant for after all it must be admitted that she did good work in India. Yes but we cannot forget the abuses heaped by Mrs Besant on the members of the Congress Deputation in the *New India* the *United India* and elsewhere. And if Mr Khaparde chooses to retaliate in his own homoorous style, he, at any rate cannot be blamed except by Mrs. Besant's followers. I would rather advise Mrs. Besant so versed in newspaper controversies to bear such attacks in the spirit of toleration common to all newspaper writers and critics. To take and resent these as personal attacks is unworthy of a lady engaged all her life in controversies often violent and virulent on either side. At any rate the All India Congress Committee cannot take notice of such bandying of words between rival critics and attempt to decide whose powers of ridicule and sarcasm are greater. I therefore do not wish to say anything further on the subject.

So far regarding the four points raised by Mrs. Besant in her appeal to you. In writing on the first, she remarks that Mr. Patel stands alone in this attack on her. Let me remind her, therefore, that the Congress Deputation as a whole fully shares the views of Mr. Patel and that Deputation consisted of twelve members of good social status, standing and experience. The report of the work of this Congress Deputation was submitted to the Congress at Amritsar. This report was adopted at a meeting of the members of the Deputation held in London on November 3rd, 1919, and printed copies thereof were circulated to the members of the Subjects Committee at Amritsar, including Mrs. Besant. In that report Mrs. Besant is expressly charged with making a common cause with Mr. Bannerjee and Mr. Basu (all of whom were admitted as ex-presidents to the meetings of the British Congress Committee) in trying to exclude the members of the Congress deputation from attending the meetings of the British Congress Committee and making the Committee believe, that the Deputation did not really represent the Congress view. The British Congress Committee after hearing both the parties, the report further says, rejected the contention of Mrs. Besant and Mr. Bannerjee, and so changed the constitution of the Committee as to bring it in a line with the latest view of the Congress. Mrs. Besant did not say a word in reply in the Subjects

Committee at the time though she full well knew that the ex presidents of the Congress, who were not prepared to support the latest Congress opinion were excluded by the new rules from attending the meeting of the British Congress Committee

CONGRESS DEPUTATION'S REPORT

This clearly shows that Mrs. Besant tried to influence not only the Labour Party but also the British Congress Committee against the Congress Deputation and she failed in both. I may here note that a paragraph in the Report itself describing the the nature of Mrs Besant's activities in England was withheld from publication at the express desire of many members of the Depntation though it had received their approval, at the meeting of the Deputation where the report was adopted. But as this goodness is not appreciated there is no longer any reason for withholding the same from the public, and I quote it here. Speaking of Mrs Besant the Report says —

In the earliest part of this report we have made a reference to the anti Congress attitude of Mrs Besant as an *ex-officio* member of the British Congress Committee. Before the Committee accepted the new constitution drafted by Messrs Khaparde and Patel, she used to attend the Committee meeting and join hands with Messrs.

S. N. Bannerjee and Basu in opposing any proposals in the Committee initiated on the letters of the General Secretary."

"In these attempts she failed as we have already shown. She has not attended a single meeting of the British Committee since the adoption of the new constitution.

"We have no hesitation in saying that she has been doing large propagandist work in the way of spreading knowledge about India among the British Democracy, but in doing so she always concluded her speeches by a general statement that the Reform Bill is good and needs but few slight changes and not such radical changes as the Congress demands. This attitude in our opinion has somewhat prejudiced the Congress propaganda in England. As an ex-president of the Congress she speaks in the name and on behalf of India ignoring the fact that since the Delhi Congress she has ceased to represent Indian opinion as focussed in the Congress.

"As far as we are aware she has made repeated attempts to join the Moderates in England. She has started a rival paper and before doing so she consulted Moderate friends and none among the Congress Deputation. The very first issue started with an attack on the Congress Deputation."

This report is signed by all the members of the Deputation and you will see therefrom that

Mr. Patel does not stand alone in condemning Mrs. Besant's conduct in England. I recommend that in publishing this Report of the Deputation the paragraph should now appear in its proper place.

MRS. BESANT'S ATTACK ON MR. TILAK

Lastly allow me to refer to Mrs. Besant's attack on myself. In 'her appeal to you she says "Mr. Tilak has put into my mouth at the same meeting words which I never spoke but as he laid down in his speech at Amritsar after the Congress the general theory that the use of falsehood is justifiable against a political opponent it is not worth while to refute any particular untruth he may utter' I thank Mrs. Besant for not further pouring vials of her wrath on my head but I must say that she has, to use her own words shamelessly misrepresented me in this behalf. I have always maintained and do maintain that diplomacy and not necessarily the whole truth is expected from a statesman and this view is sanctioned both by Eastern and Western ethical writers. I am therefore, not ashamed to own it for I stand in good company. But if Mrs. Besant wants to pervert my view in the above way to suit her purposes either she deliberately misunderstands me or is so stupid as not to grasp my meaning. Stupid I cannot call her and I leave it to you gentlemen to judge whether this perversion of my opinion is not due to *malice propence*. Mrs. Besant has spent a large part of

her life in politics, and I cannot believe that she has made the above statement innocently unless and until I am favoured directly by the Mahatmas with a certificate to the contrary in favour of Mrs. Besant. Let me frankly tell her that though I admire her eloquence, learning, and unfailing energy for work, I cannot bear for a moment the supremacy which she claims for her opinions in matters political, under the guise that she is inspired to work by the Great Souls and that such orders from them as she professes to receive must be unquestionably obeyed and considered as infallible by all. Autocracy may be, and is, sometimes tolerated in theological and theosophical matters but in democratic politics we must go by the decisions of the majority, even if they are unpalatable to us. Mrs. Besant quarrelled with the majority at Delhi, and has been trying ever since by fair or unfair means to force her importance on the Congress. That is the underlying motive of her efforts, and the present appeal to the All-India Congress Committee is but an illustration of the same. Rather than condemn Messrs. Khaparde and Patel, I would therefore ask the All-India Congress Committee to take such steps as to make it impossible for ex-Presidents to do mischief to us by thwarting the Congress work in any way. The British Congress Committee has, you know, changed its old constitution to prevent such a contingency.

Would it not be better to adopt a similar rule in the impending revision of the Congress Constitution? We do not want autocrats but real leaders of the people in the Congress—men who would not only guide but also be guided at the same time. Mrs Besant holds a contrary view. Believing that all her actions and thoughts are dictated by Mahatmas she claims for herself supernatural position which tolerates no opposition. Practical political organisations like the Congress cannot accept this view. It recognises no Mahatmas to rule over it except the Mahatma of Majority and if Mrs Besant is still minded to question this doctrine she like the Moderates should work in her own way independently. Any abuse of Congressmen will only serve to further diminish respect for her services rendered in the past. But it would be presumptuous on my part to go on advising a lady of her learning and ambition. I therefore conclude this reply to her appeal made to you with the assurance that I am prepared to substantiate by evidence in my possession all the statements made by me in this reply if you so desire. Mr Patel had he been here at this time could have I feel done better. But in his absence I deem it my duty to take up the challenge and expose the audacious falsehoods of Mrs Besant. Hoping therefore to be excused for it

I remain

Yours very sincerely

B G Tilak

MR. TILAK AND MR. PARANJPYE

[Arrangements were made by the people of Poona for presenting an address of welcome to the Lokamanya on his arrival at Poona from England. This was too much for the Moderates of Poona to bear with anything like composure. Mr Paranjpye (now the Minister of Education for Bombay) came out with a scurrilous attack in the "Bombay Chronicle" on the Lokamanya and his party, charging him with all sins of omission and commission. The main contentions of Mr Paranjpye were that Mr. Tilak's activities were essentially of a destructive nature, that he and his party had often invaded personal liberty of individuals in social matters, that he had no record in the field of social reform and temperance work etc. The following is Mr. Tilak's reply]

To,

THE EDITOR OF THE "MAHRATTA"

SIR,

I am much indebted to the Hon'ble Mr. Paranjpye for preparing and publishing a catalogue of my sins of omission and commission through your columns. The work is done evidently with great labour, but it is done in an atmosphere, exclusively of his own, and under irritation caused by

the recent events in this city. Everybody is welcome to his own views, and as I do not claim to have pleased all and everybody whether in Poona or outside. I am not surprised at the occasional display of bad temper and bad taste of my opponents like Mr. Paranjpye. All that I have to say against him is that the publication of his views at this time is utterly irrelevant and inopportune. The address which was given to me was never intended to be literally from all and every citizen of Poona. It was a public address, and, like all public addresses, it meant an address only from a majority of the Poona public, though of course in this case, a very overwhelming majority as Mr. Paranjpye himself was well aware of. The organisers of the meeting were quite willing to make and had actually made, all arrangements to give Mr. Paranjpye an opportunity to put forward all that he had to say before the Poona public, who would have, I am sure given them a patient hearing. But Mr. Paranjpye and his party had not the courage to accept the challenge though they had full twenty-four hours' notice to do so. Mr. Paranjpye speaks of the original intentions of the organisers to call a meeting of those who appreciated my work. But knowing this, Mr. Paranjpye and his party thought it fit to send a challenge to the organisers to make arrangements for giving them a hearing at the public meeting. That challenge was accepted. The public who

know both Mr. Paranjpye and myself, would have been glad to patiently hear whatever Mr. Paranjpye would have liked to say on the platform. But he knew, as he now admits, that he and his party were "a small" minority in Poona, and, believing prudence to be the better part of valour, transferred the work of opposition at the meeting, to a young boy reserving for himself the use of your columns for emptying the fials of his long-accumulated wrath, under the pretext of justifying the position himself and the handful of his followers, have taken on the present occasion.

My views on political and social matters are well-known to the public, and there is nothing new in Mr Paranjpye's statement, except perversions, misrepresentations usual to his party, which calls for any remarks from me. His great charge against me is that my activity and propaganda is one-sided. Well, supposing it is so, I fail to see how Mr. Paranjpye's conclusion 'can be legitimately drawn from it. It is a well-known fact that I differ from Mr Paranjpye and his party in matters social. I don't hold that a social reconstruction must be undertaken prior to political emancipation. I attach greater importance to the latter. Without the power to shape our own destiny, our national regeneration in a large sense, cannot, in my opinion, be effected, and I have throughout my career tried

to preach and emphasize this view. When I opposed the Age of Consent Bill I did so mainly on this ground. I did not think, nor do I think now that a legislature which is not wholly responsible to the public is competent to deal with social questions. Another point involved in that controversy was Dr (now Sir) Bhandarkar's interpretation of certain Sanskrit texts. It is well known that Government obtained the opinions of their own Pandits on the matter and when they were found to be so my favour Government eventually decided rather to be wrong with Dr Bhandarkar than right with myself. It is useless to comment upon this decision especially as we now know that Government very often prefers deliberately to follow a wrong course sometimes even an absurdly wrong course for special reasons.

Mr Paranjpye roundly charges me with doing only destructive work. But he very cleverly ignores all that I did before I took part in this controversy as Editor of the *Acarya*. I refer to the establishment of the New English School the Deccan Education Society and the Fergusson College of which Mr Paranjpye is now the Principal. It is a fact well known in Poona that having done all the fighting necessary to the establishment of an independent national institution I had to sever my connection with it after eleven years of work because my colleagues would rather fall in with

Government instead of boldly taking up an independent stand as originally planned. I am quite sure that if the original intentions of the founders had been carried out, there would have been no necessity for a movement of National Education, started during the last few years. Let me inform Mr. Paranjpye that it was his friends and his party who foiled this first attempt at establishing a national college on a strict popular and independent basis. In his catalogue of my sins he has scrupulously avoided to refer to this matter, though with a little care he could have known the whole truth from documents in his possession. This speaks volumes for his fairness; and yet my work is destructive as opposed to the constructive work of himself and his party.

Let me now take up some of the allegations made against me for views published in the *Kesari* from time to time in social matters. Mr. Paranjpye is probably unaware of the fact that I took the sole charge of the *Kesari* only after 1890. It is true that I made it an organ exclusively for the political propaganda which I wanted to preach. I don't deny it; but, at the same time, let me point out that the political awakening in the Maharashtra since then is more the work of this paper and my party than Mr. Paranjpye and the men of his ilk. The moderate school of thought, mostly led by

Government servants and pensioners in those days never thought of going beyond a mild and diffused criticism of some detailed measures of official administration with a view to get them redressed. They had not then the courage to put forward the ideal of Self Government before the people, and to educate public opinion in accordance therewith. On the contrary they tried to obstruct the work of the Nationalists in this behalf by misrepresenting them and also by back biting them whenever possible. The word Swarajya—yes unadulterated Swarajya—as used in the *Kesari* was mistranslated by them as meaning complete independence which the *Kesari* never advocated. The Anglo Indian papers, our natural enemies in this matter patted the Moderates on their back for this service to the Anglo Indian cause. And the Nationalists were overwhelmed with the opposition engineered by this unholy alliance until at last the Grand Old Man of India Mr. Dadabhai Nowrojee in 1906 declared from the Congress platform that Swarajya should be our goal and that it meant nothing more nor less than complete Self Government within the Empire. Mr. Paranjpye is probably ignorant of the fact that the Moderate leaders for whom he professes to have unbounded respect were not prepared at the time to take up this ideal for practical work and accept any scheme however moderate for the realisation thereof. There has been a lot of misunderstanding

sedulously created and persistently kept up, regarding the unfortunate Surat Split. On behalf of the Nationalists I was then pressing for a Resolution embodying a very very moderate scheme of Self-Government for immediate adoption by the Congress. I have still in my possession a manifesto of the Nationalist party, issued at that time, and shall be glad to show it to Mr Paranjpye if he cares to investigate into these matters. What did it ask for? “(1) complete autonomy in local matters, (2) effective voice and control in Provincial administration or a greater portion thereof, and (3) an adequate representation in Imperial administration.” The manifesto says: “Nothing less than this to begin with will satisfy the aspirations of the people.” It is well-known how the Moderate leaders, like Mr. Gokhale received such a proposal at that time, and how, after ten years of continued fight and agitation by the Nationalist party, it was adopted by Government and now passed by the House of Commons. This will clearly show that my only fault at that time was to anticipate, by a few years, the Government and the Moderates, and to continue to educate popular opinion thereon in spite of the retrograde attitude of Mr Paranjpye’s party. If any fighting had to be done, let me remind Mr. Paranjpye, it was all done by the Nationalists. It is useless to convince a man of Mr Paranjpye’s type, who is determined to shut his eyes to these plain vivid

facts. But the country knows the services rendered in this behalf by the Nationalists and whatever Mr. Paranjpye might say in regard to my attitude towards social matters it is, I believe impossible to hoodwink the public as regards the work which my party and myself have done in this behalf. It is a clever party misrepresentation to ignore these facts and point the Surat Split as a simply destructive work. The Moderates had no constructive programme at that time except that of going back on the bold declaration of Mr. Dadabhai. And if anybody was mainly responsible for defeating a constructive programme of the Nationalists outlined above it was the party of Mr. Paranjpye. The acceptance of official view under the disguise of moderation has always been the motto of the Moderates in such matters and one need not be surprised if they are trying to play the same game in regard to the present reforms. Mr. Paranjpye is utterly misinformed about my alleged differences with Mr. Patel and Mr. Horniman while in England. His information may be from a friendly source but it is not accurate. I have never changed my attitude regarding the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms. In India my work consisted in bringing round the majority in the Congress to my view and once this view was settled, my work in England consisted in representing that view as it then was the view of the Indian people. In India we have a

kind of formative work to perform, while in England we have to faithfully present its results to the British public. I am sorry that a clear brain like Mr. Paranjpye is unable to see this distinction. But perhaps a warped intelligence, smarting under irritation of discomfiture, cannot be expected to rise higher.

Mr. Paranjpye has, I am sorry, no clear idea of the principles of Nationalism and has thus misunderstood the character and the nature of Nationalist opposition to the Social Reform movement, as conducted by his party. A true Nationalist desires to build on old foundations. Reform based on utter disrespect for the old does not appeal to him as constructive work. He therefore tries to maintain and foster a distinct national interest before undertaking any reform. A similar change has come over Irish politics. Those that started political agitation in India in the early forties or fifties of the last century thought more of the political privileges than of regeneration of nationality. The Nationalist party of to-day looks upon the question from a different standpoint altogether. We don't want to anglicise our institutions and so denationalise them in the name of Social and Political Reforms. We mean to progress and wish our country to occupy a position of equality among the civilised nations of the world. But whereas men of Mr. Paranjpye's party

would ask us to adopt alien methods even to offering our prayers to God we, the Nationalists desire to emphasise and preserve the national sentiment by giving due credit to all that is good in the old system but without detriment to progress and reform needed for our national uplift. If Mr Paranjpyo had cared to bear this difference in mind he would not have misrepresented my activities in Social reforms. The Shivajee Festival and the Ganupathi Festival are in reality means to keep up and maintain a proper pride in the doings of our ancestors and it is sheer misrepresentation. I don't care to inquire whether conscious or unconscious to stamp these movements as calculated only to strengthen orthodox prejudices. I think Mr Paranjpyo knows that both in Scotland and Ireland similar movements were inaugurated for similar national purposes. But men like him are so denationalised as to look upon every honest opposition to the old school of reforms as emanating from personal jealousy and other worse passions. Let me remind him that while the Widow Marriage movement was at its height it was myself who proposed to the Reformers to come to a compromise with the Shankaracharya and the leaders of the Hindu orthodoxy on a reasonable basis. In my opinion the evil of prohibition of widow remarriage is not a general one but is confined to only Brahmins and such other castes as have thought fit to imitate Brahmin

customs and manners. What I proposed therefore was that though widow remarriage is not sanctioned by the latter Hindu Law, yet a compromise could be adopted by including it in the forms of marriage sanctioned by Shastras, and thus removing, with the sanction of the orthodoxy, all disqualifications arising from social ostracism. I even offered and was prepared to fight this battle myself. But the Reformers would not accept my proposal. In the matter of the depressed and the lower classes I had commenced to act long before Mr Paranjpye had emerged out of his teens by giving in the Ganapati Festival an equal status to all backward classes. The fact is well-known in Poona except possibly in the circle of Mr. Paranjpye's friends. As for the Vedokta, I supported the extension of it in the case of the Kolhapur Chief and never objected to its extension to non-Brahmin classes. Mr. Paranjpye has utterly misunderstood the question. Extension of Vedokta ceremony was not the real bone of contention. The question was whether an orthodox Brahmin priest should be coerced and compelled against his wish, on pain of forfeiture of Inams granted to him under the old system, to perform Vedic-rites in all non-Brahmin families. The very principle of personal liberty on which Mr. Paranjpye lays so much stress would be violated if we answer the question in the affirmative. I know that every community can freely resort to Vedokta rites if it chooses; but no one

can justify the forfeiture of ancient Inams granted by old rulers and under different understandings. Can the British Government claim the right to forfeit Devasthao Inams because the State Religion is now different? Mr Paranjpye knows full well that I am for removing all caste distinctions regarding inter dining or untouchability. I have said so many a time, but I am not prepared to take up the work of actual propaganda in this matter as my own and I refuse to sign a manifesto which would have clearly thrown that responsibility on me. To compare small things with great will Mr Paranjpye be prepared to ignore the other work of any American statesman simply because he declined to take a prominent part in the emancipation of Negroes in the United States? I am glad to see that he admits the necessity of specialisation in such movements. But I am sorry that he does not see his way to apply that to me.

There are various other matters to which Mr Paranjpye has referred in his catalogue of my aims and it would take much space to refute all that he has said against me. For instance my attitude against plague measures and inoculation was not peculiar to me. Our friend the late Mr Agarkar's paper the Reformer (*Sudharak*) wrote perhaps more violently than myself against plague measures and if that paper was not taken to task for it like myself it was probably because Government preferred to

take a victim from the Nationalists as opposed to the Moderate party. The *Kesari* fully recognised the scientific value of the inoculation but opposed only its compulsory introduction, especially in its experimental stages. Mr. Paranjpye has a strange idea of his own regarding newspaper controversies and attacks. He is prepared to credit me with a trenchant style, so as to better enable him to blame me for vigorous attacks on persons taking the opposite views. But let me ask him one question, a most important question "how many of our leaders, whether Nationalists or Moderates, have not been grossly attacked by the Anglo-Indian Press for entertaining views differing from those of the ruling class?" Neither Mr. Dadabhoy Nowrojee nor Mr. Justice Ranade nor Mr. Gokhale escaped from the attacks of the Anglo-Indian Press. Has Mr. Paranjpye ever complained against the Anglo-Indian writers' efficiency in wielding a vigorous and forcible style? Why? It is the first necessity of the journalistic profession. But I need not go to the Anglo-Indian parallels. My friend the late Mr. Agarkar's own brilliant literary abilities were all devoted, in those days to pour on my head all the invective and abuse that he could plan, originate or copy. And Mr. Gokhale's papers in later days have been doing the same kind of work for Mr. Paranjpye's party. In fact without a sense of egoism, I may say that I am the most abused man in this respect in the Maharashtra.

If I replied to these attacks in self defence and in defence of the cause, it was a matter of sheer necessity for me and those conversant with modern warfare know fully well that victory in such matters will always rest with those who can use guns of range longer than those of their enemies backed up by solid support of an invulnerable rampart of sound logic. Mr Paranjpye has therefore absolutely nothing to complain of the nature of my writings. Bigger guns were in the service of his party and if they failed to demolish the Nationalist cause it was not because we had the monopoly of literary merit but because their cause itself was weak both in principle and practice. Marathi readers know the truth very well but I doubt whether Mr Paranjpye is a Marathi reader at all. Mr Paranjpye blames me also for not supporting communal representation and the Patel Bill. But here I may tell him that I stand in good company. The value of representation consists in the vote and not in the caste of the representative selected. If Mr Paranjpye's party has adopted the opposite view it is possibly for the purpose of getting more recruits rather than out of love for the principle itself. Such alliances are not unknown even in England. As for the Patel Bill my opposition does not rest on social or religious grounds but on the economic law of succession. And it betrayed a want of careful reading and judgment on the part of the Moderates to cite it as an instance of

my illogical views. I never put myself as a representative of Indian Labor until I was elected so by the Bombay Labor Unions, as against Mr. Joshi, the Government nominee of the *Servants of India Society*. That Society was, so far as I know, established for carrying on political work. But it has practically given up that work and has compelled some of its members who adopted the Home Rule propaganda, to resign. And yet we find that when Lord Sydenham asked Mr. Shastri whether the latter in giving evidence was not going against the constitution of the Society established for social service the latter replied in the negative.

I think I have exceeded the normal space usually allotted for a reply, but let me say one word in conclusion regarding the methods of our party. We don't want to pose as self-constituted wise leaders of the people. We have our plan, our goal, as open and constitutional as that of the Moderates. We shall do our best to educate the public in our views and doctrines, in open competition with the Moderates. If we can carry the majority of the people with us it would be idle for any one to complain of our action in these democratic days. We shall stick to our guns, and if those prove to be of a longer range than those of our opponents they must take the defeat in good grace. Personal jealousies or boasts of superior wisdom are out of place. One may differ and differ from the view of the majority

as much as he likes. But let him remember that it is a free fight and it is his own fault if he cannot win the fight. There is nothing in Mr. Paranjpye's letter which shows that he realises or appreciates the principle of public work.

POONA.

12-12-1919 }

I am
Yours sincerely
B. G. TILAK.

SEE THIS PICTURE AND THAT
MAHRATTA'S COMMENT ON THE ABOVE

14th December 1919

The Hon. Mr. Paranjpye has in his letter to the *Bombay Chronicle* expressed the opinion of his own and his party in connection with the presentation of address to Mr. Tilak. Mr. Tilak has replied to it and we need not repeat now his arguments. We wish only to point out how unworthy and mean has been the attitude of Mr. Paranjpye and his party by contrasting it with the supremely liberal attitude shown by Mr. Tilak himself at the time of thanking the late Hon. Mr. Gokhale when he returned to India from England after fulfilling his deputation work in 1905. Even at that time Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Tilak sharply differed in their views on matters both political and social. The Moderates

and Nationalists were at sixes and sevens even then as now. But Mr. Tilak and his party did not allow these differences to so prevail upon themselves as to refuse honoring Mr. Gokhale for his services in England, even though there were keen differences of opinion on that very point also. In spite of it, Mr Tilak warmly welcomed Mr Gokhale, even invited him to his house, and in a meeting held in the Reay Market, himself moved the resolution thanking Mr Gokhale and Lajpatrai for their work in England. The self-same Principal Paranjpye was present in that meeting. The president of that meeting was Dr. M. G. Deshmukh, a staunch adherent of Mr. Tilak's party. And in spite of the differences of opinion, the meeting was then called on behalf of *all* the City and Cantonment citizens. Not only this, but Mr. Tilak and his party honoured Mr Gokhale when he was *not* duly honoured by the Moderates themselves at Bombay. Contrast this generosity of Mr Tilak and his party with the present unworthy attitude of the followers of Mr. Gokhale, and the height of the folly and meanness of Mr. Paranjpye and his followers becomes patent.

CLAIMS FALSE ALLEGATIONS UNTRUE

By the bye we refer to some points not mentioned in Mr Tilak's reply to Mr Paranjpye's allegations. He says: "The party we represent have not been backward in criticising, and in no

sparing terms the measures and actions of Government. We say that Mr Sbastri's refusing to be on the Press Deputation for fear of being snubbed' by Mr Montagn, shows the time serving attitude of his party in criticising Government. Again he says Mr Tilak and his followers have often invaded personal liberty of individuals in social matters. We pay Mr Paranjpye in his own coin by saying that they too do not at all respect the same personal liberty of individuals—as for instance that of the orthodox men—when it does not suit them. Mr Paranjpye asks. What has been Mr Tilak's record in connection with—among others,—industrial expansion and temperance. Really if Mr Paranjpye has any respect for truth he ought to have been ashamed to ask this question. We ask him 'who fought the cause of the *Swadeshi* movement in Maharashtra so nobly and so boldly? Has not Mr Tilak any part or lot in that? And does not the Talegaon Glass works stare fully in Mr Paranjpye's face as an example of Mr Tilak's *constructive Swadeshi*.' In the cause of temperance again Mr Tilak stands unrivalled in his work. It has been appreciated from time to time by men like Dr Mann and we commend that to Mr Paranjpye's notice. And when Mr Paranjpye says that in the method of moral suasion against drink his work is *absolutely* nil we make bold to say that he slanders Mr Tilak with uttering an unmitigated and absolute lie

Mr. Tilak's *Kesari* thundered against Drink from time to time, and we challenge Mr. Paranjpye to show in his party a man like Mr. S. G. Lavate (of Mr. Tilak's party again) who has devoted his whole life for moral suasion against Drink? In connection with Indian Labour representation, he praises Mr. N. M. Joshi's "valuable work of several years." As against this we refer him to Mr. N. M. Joshi's own words which he had said in a Bombay meeting. His allegation that Mr. Tilak gave the threat that the pandal would be burnt if Social Conference were held in the Congress pandal is a naked falsehood. Similarly the allegation that Mr. Tilak invented the Ganapati festival *tanasha* (is it not an abuse of language for which Mr. Paranjpye blames Mr. Tilak?) to widen the gulf between the Hindus and the Mahomedans is also a gross untruth. Many such glaring untruths, not to say of perversions and misrepresentations, can be quoted, but we need not multiply them. We simply want to show that Mr. Paranjpye's allegations do not support his case, and his opposition to Mr. Tilak's address was as unfounded as it was ungenerous.

MR. TILAK AND MR. PARANJPYE.

The following extract from Mr. S. S. Setlur's letter in the *Chronicle* throws much light on the present controversy and so is reproduced here.

Principal Paranjpye's attitude towards the Nationalist majority on this occasion would make Gokhale torn to his grave. This can be stated as certain by all those who knew the pains he took in stormy days of Bengal imbroglio not to identify himself with the anti Nationalist party who were so strong in Bombay under the leadership of Sir Pherozshah Mehta. This is a fact known to me personally and to every one who was in the inner secrets of the Bombay politics at the time.

Just a fortnight before his death in connection with Mrs. Besant's mission in Madras of bringing together the two parties which had separated in Surat I had to see him at the Servants of India Society. After asking me to sit quiet and listen notwithstanding his weakness and the consciousness of approaching death he made a speech for half an hour in which he exhorted me and every other to bring about union on the lines he mentioned. Those lines have been made public by Mrs. Besant in her speeches and writings at the time. The whole scene is vividly impressed on my mind. After he finished when I told him that the lines chalked out by him were fair to both parties he exclaimed with vehemence. Will you then go to Mr. Tilak and get him and his advisers to accept the compromise? When I said I would immediately go there he burst out in a soliloquy which evidently he did not intend for me in these words. Even with all the

limitations I have mentioned I knew there is not the slightest doubt that he (Mr. Tilak) will capture the Congress sooner or later. That cannot be helped. When that comes about it means that the whole country or the majority of people are on his side. If so, he will have won in a fair fight and it cannot be helped." After this he turned to me and exclaimed, "Do put my proposal before the more reasonable of his party and get him to accept it. Whatever may happen in future, let me go with the satisfaction that the split has come to an end"

I have given about in his own words, as nearly as possible although I cannot vouchsafe that every word is his. Most of them are undoubtedly. Look at that and look at this

If such was the attitude of Mr. Gokhale towards Mr. Tilak of those days it is very difficult to infer what would have been his attitude towards Mr. Tilak now when such a leader, at present, of Moderates as Mrs. Besant has publicly certified that in England he was eminently reasonable and never irreconcilable? But where personal spite comes in where is the room for all such considerations?

What about expediency? Did the good Principal consider that when 95 per cent of the people are Mr. Tilak's admirers, confining the address to them would not seriously matter. Who can deny that he is the idol of the nation at least at present second only to Mahatma Gandhi?

Perhaps, the consciousness of this fact induced the brave principal to tack on the non Brahmins to himself. Is not this terminology confined to Madras? I could have understood if his resolution had spoken of Mahrattas. We have heard sometimes of some of them cackling in a similar strain. But this is the first time that the non Brahmin is brought into Bombay politics. It cannot be a secret to such a shrewd Principal that the masses almost deify Mr Tilak in the Maharashtra. The other day when Mr Tilak went to Mazagaon which is entirely a non Brahmin quarter of Bombay, to see Mr Baptista, the news that he was there spread like wild fire round about and Mr Boptista told me that by the time Mr Tilak came out there was a big crowd of non Brahmins gathered to greet him they were all Mahrattas and after Mr Tilak left, out of curiosity Mr Boptista questioned them why they had turned out in such large numbers and was told that they wanted to see Mr Tilak. When asked what they cared for him they answered with the simplicity and sincerity of the ordinary Indian commonfolk that Mr Tilak was not an ordinary man but a Dev and his sight would wash off their sins. Such is the veneration in which he is held by the masses and he is the one leader with whom difference in province does not count as I learnt when I travelled to Lucknow for the Congress. In his special train. Wherever the train halted people of all classes

crowded in, and, when out of curiosity I questioned them, they spoke of him exactly with the same awe and reverence as the Mazagaon folk exhibited. In speaking of such a man, to say that non-Brahmins were not among his friends and admirers, may be very soothing to hearts full of spite, envy and jealousy, but cannot pass muster with persons who care for truth alone.

With such men, to argue about the criminal folly of taking every opportunity to accentuate party differences in the country by bringing personalities into public life, would be waste of your valuable space. I shall not therefore attempt it.

APPENDIX C

LATE MR TILAK

PERSONAL APPRECIATIONS AND TRIBUTES

[A public meeting of the citizens of Madras was held at the Beach opposite the Presidency College to express their deep sense of sorrow at the death of Lokamanya Tilak and to appeal for funds for a suitable memorial. The meeting was a representative one almost all the communities of Madras and the political sections in the country being represented.]

MR C VIJIARAGHAVACHARIAR

The Chairman in opening the proceedings of the evening said —

You have imposed upon me a task which is as difficult as it is sad. One of the noblest of India's modern children is dead rather suddenly at a comparatively early age. Lokamanya Tilak passed away the other day. The whole country is plunged in deep and acute grief and we are assembled here to perform our duty and in its two fold aspects. Firstly we desire to clothe our grief in suitable expression in view to the consolation of the bereaved family and also, let me add in view to our own

consolation too. That Mr. Tilak has been a favourite—a growing favourite as he grew older—with the people, with the whole people of India, and especially with the masses of the people, is too patent a fact to need any testimony to prove or any eloquence to emphasise or magnify. We easily find our way to adopt this, the first resolution. In the next part, we are called upon to appoint a committee to concert measures for the perpetuation of the memory of the great patriot. Here I feel I am unable to rise equal to the occasion and it requires the genius and the pure love of the country of a Rabindranath Tagore to do full justice to the claims of Tilak on our gratitude and on the gratitude of generations yet to be born. I have had the pleasure and happiness of knowing him for over a quarter of a century and our acquaintance which began in 1895 grew and ripened into friendship. Here, I venture to say that Mr. Tilak was one of the few people in the world to whom the reverse of that half-truth that no man is a hero in his own land, was applicable. The more I knew, the more I admired him and the more I liked to be in his company and it was not singular with me. Even his enemies, when they came near him and spent a few days in contact with him, forgot their past opinions of the man and they took to admiring him. Why is it that we should call upon the present and the succeeding generations to behold the man, to contemplate on his life and to

understaod the meaning of his mission? Because we ought not to raise a memorial of any man merely because he is dead. To the present case the claims of Mr Tilak on our eternal gratitude of the present and future generations, are as compact as they are great. I venture to think that he was the foremost if not, the first to start true Indian Nationalism. At any rate, it was he who brought to bear upon the investigation of the higher dangerous and complex subject viz the existing relations between England and India, a scientific and philosophic test. In order to investigate this relation he applied not only the capacious mind of his own but also the knowledge derived from twofold sources—from the political philosophers and martyrs of France, England and Italy, and also from our own ancient religious literature and he amalgamated this twofold knowledge and evolved his own ideas his own principles and his own plan. For he was one of those who believed that every nation of this planet which had a past of which it can be proud every nation which contributed to the humanity of the world not simply to the science and knowledge of the world—every nation which contributed to softening of mankind to the elevation of mankind, that each one of these had its own place and India had its own foremost place in the polity of nations. So he set to the work of finding out what should be the place which India should occupy in the comity and polity

of nations and he enunciated his ideas and principles with a clearness both in expression and thought not as yet reached by any of our own countrymen. It is not for me to say that other countries have produced men equal to him or greater than he. Confining myself to India, I say that nobody has as yet reached that position. No, that is not all. Having come to the conclusion as to what should be the relations between England and India, viz, that the relations as now existing are wholly inadequate to carry out the purpose of the Government and having come to the conclusion that the present system of Government is but an out-growth, a slight modification of the mercantile system of the East India Company of monopoly, he came to the greatest conclusion, viz, that any system of sound Government which is at once capable of achieving its object for the millions of this country and which is likely to be durable must be the Government based upon the consent of the governed, based upon the power of the governed to turn out a Government whenever they misbehaved, based upon the further conclusion that they must have the power, both constitutional and legal, to replace them by more competent persons whenever they are displeased with this Government. In other words, he only applied to our country what far greater men, Burke, Locke, Montaigne, Rousseau and others—Italian and French patriots, who, in giving expression to their feelings,

gave their belief that all true sovereignty is derived from the governed and that the Governors are but the legal agency of the corporation of the whole people. By whatever name you call it, it means that those who run the ship of State are simply to be considered the people's agents if you like people's servants. Mr Tilak's conception of the bureaucracy was they should be the servants and not the masters of the people of India. Having come to this conclusion Mr Tilak was one of those few men with whom there was no disguising the ideas and no faltering of purpose. In his political Bible there was no chapter devoted to a discussion of plausible and pleasing tricks to delude the bureaucracy and to tickle them. The result was that he came into collision—and with whom? It is an irony of fate that he came into very severe collision invariably at the worst of it, with the people to whom the world owes the abolition of slavery and the invention of responsible Government which in my humble view is the most perfect form of Government as yet invented by man. The reason was that people once in possession of power and privileges would not part with them whatever may be their traditions as to freedom. This is not the only reason. While the dazzling way in which Mr Tilak enunciated his propositions, drew the vast majority of the people on the one hand there were powerful thinkers amongst us who got alarmed and whom

the dazzling blinded and incessantly made them his enemies. The result was that he had the misfortune to have had two sets of enemies, Indian, and European. With all these he was never dismayed, never daunted in the pursuit of his career. He pursued it with a singleness of purpose without looking to this or that side in his walk, on the path of progress, towards our freedom, both political and economic, with his strong religious conviction. From his experience of mankind, he drew the conclusion that whatever be the watchfulness of Providence over the people, He helps those who help themselves; that action, fearless persistent action, irrespective of consequences, is our duty—then and not till—then the Divine sanction before every great event would help us.

If you will remember his statement before Mr. Justice Devar, a more remarkable man you cannot see. When, from his high position, Mr. Justice Devar said to Mr. Tilak he was going to convict him and asked Mr. Tilak what he had to say, Mr. Tilak replied :—

“In spite of the verdict of the Jury, I maintain that I am innocent. There are higher powers that rule the destiny of things, and it may be the will of Providence that the cause which I represent may prosper more by my suffering than by my remaining free.”

I do not believe that Mr. Devar understood its full inner meaning and the severity of temper with which Mr. Tilak spoke those words. I have seen few men possessing an amount of self-possession, confidence in himself, confidence in that great beneficent sanction behind every event and every movement in the world. I have not seen a man equal to him. It has been said by a certain historian that Sivaji, Hyder Ali and Ranjit Singh all great conquerors founded their kingdoms, but Sivaji was the greatest. It is true his kingdom also fell down, but unlike others he founded a people—the great Mahratta people. They are not only not dead, but they are a living asset—the most valuable asset—among the peoples of India. If it is true according to this historian that Sivaji founded the people, I venture to think that Tilak founded the people of India. It was Mr. Tilak as I understand it who first if not for the first time gave form and clothed it in the most attractive form—the idea of Indian Nationalism. From the time that Tilak outgrew his parochial and provincial patriotism, he came into conflict not only with Englishmen and the bureaucracy but with some of our own eminent countrymen who I agree are honorable men and want to serve the country. By whatever name you call it, the cleavage began as soon as Mr. Tilak developed himself into an Indian patriot from his intense patriotism as a Mahratta provincial hero.

It strikes me, therefore, that the perpetuation of the memory of such a man is not merely a duty we all owe him but a duty we owe to ourselves and to the children yet to be born, so that all may look at the face of this great man, and contemplate on him and ask the question why is it the people have given this man a statute and what is it he has done for our country. Without meaning any offence to any one, I ask you all—and I have extreme doubts as to this—whether his mantle has fallen upon anybody at all. I doubt whether a successor can be found for Mr. Tilak as he was. It is possible that he is a patriarch—his successors are the numerous progeny of the country in the generations to be born. If then you agree with me, that he has left no successor, it is the greater duty on our part to perpetuate his memory to the coming generations.

MR S KASTURI RANGA AIYANGAR.

Mr. S Kasturiranga Aiyangar moved the following resolution :—

“The citizens of Madras in public meeting assembled hereby place on record their profound sorrow and their deep sense of the irreparable loss that the Indian nation has sustained in the demise of Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, its foremost

leader whose revered memory will stand out for all future as that of one to whom with a character for spotless integrity was combined a burning sense of patriotism dauntless courage a spirit of rare self-sacrifice and statesmanship of the highest order

I can say most sincerely that I wish the task of moving this resolution had fallen on some one more capable of doing justice to it Our respected chairman has however made a most eloquent and touching speech and this resolution is only the natural sequel to it Therefore it is hardly necessary for me to say more than a few words in connection with it My tribute to the memory of my beloved friend and illustrious leader as of all Nationalists in the country, should be given not in words but in service to our Motherland of such a character that Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak himself would have liked to render if he were living Mr Tilak was himself not a great and eloquent speaker His speeches were always short and crisp They were clear as crystal they went straight as an arrow to the heart and his ideas captured the imagination and heart of the audience and at the end of his speeches his hearers felt that they had listened to an inspired prophet of the motherland The last of his speeches I had the privilege to hear in this very place during his visit to Madras some months ago, when addresses eulogising his transcendent services were delivered to him by numerous public bodies,

and political associations, and I had the honour of presiding on the occasion. Mr. Tilak was a patriot of the noblest type, a man with a strong and keen intellect and unquenchable ambition for the political emancipation of his country and unconquerable will, and dauntless courage. He had dedicated his life to the service of the country, and served it with absolute devotion and self-abnegation. The successive acts of official persecution, which he was repeatedly subjected to in his life, never interfered with the calm, intrepid and heroic manner in which he faced all his troubles. Mr. Tilak was of heroic mould. He became sanctified by his various sufferings, sufferings undergone on behalf of a people great in the past, and in a down-trodden condition in the present. He recently said in a speech on Home Rule — "I am young in spirit, though old in body. I do not wish to lose this privilege of youth. The body might perish, but the soul is immortal. If one body is worn out the soul will take another, so assures the Gita." Mr. Tilak was animated by a religious fervour in working for his country. His mission was to rouse his countrymen to the supreme effort of recovering the lost greatness of the motherland, to waken in them feelings of National self-respect, and of the imperative duty of attending to the weal of the country. His own faith in the future of the country was deep and inexhaustible. A man of this radiant nature, with gifts of scholarship of a high order, and

political vision and genius rare to be found in any country, India can ill afford to lose at the present moment. It is of such a patriot, of the purest ray serene that Mrs. Besant not long ago said in *New India* that he was a real menace to India. I have particular reason to remember this as Mrs Besant was good enough to say that Lok. Tilak and my humble self were a real menace to India. I felt gratified by this statement because it was an honour to me to be coupled with Mr Tilak though it was meant in a depreciatory sense. I cannot claim that my public services can bear any comparison to those of Mr Tilak. But leaving me out of consideration it was a monstrous libel and perverse statement to make that Mr Tilak was a real menace to India. Mr Tilak was it is true a menace to India's political servitude (Hear Hear) to the exploitation of India by foreigners whether in the political, religious, or commercial field. Another charge which Mrs. Besant has been making against the late Mr Tilak was that he advocated falsehood and duplicity in political matters. The falsity of this charge has been curiously enough exposed in an article in the *Englishman* of Calcutta received to day. It says— Although at times when in some sportive mood Mr Tilak desired to annoy the Mahatmas who make a posture of sincerity he would talk about the necessity of duplicity in politics he himself was very far from pursuing a tortuous course. I submit

that that is a testimonial, as it comes from a quarter which is by no means unprejudiced, worthy of the greatest consideration. No honest person who knew Mr. Tilak could have doubted this. 'He was a man of transparent simplicity and rectitude of character. He worked for no personal ends and he had absolute faith and trust in God.' Our great leader who has left the country in mourning, has bequeathed to us a most fragrant memory, a precious heritage in remembrance of National work nobly accomplished and of great ideals strenuously and unflinchingly striven for.

THE MEMORIAL

MR S SRINIVASA IYENGAR.

Mr. S Srinivasa Iyengar, C I.E., moved :—

“ This public meeting resolves that steps be taken in co-operation with the Madras Mahajana Sabha and the Provincial Congress Committee to perpetuate the Memory of Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak by the erection of a Hall with a statue or bust, to be called after the deceased patriot and appoints a Committee for the same ”

He said that it was a melancholy privilege to associate himself with this meeting but he did so with some diffidence, for he could not claim to have

had any personal relations with the late Mr Tilak. There were only two things which connected him with Mr Tilak in a remote manner. The first was when he refused to comply with a request of a great friend of his not to move for the enrolment of one of his earliest apprentices Mr S. Doraswami Iyer, because he was an ardent follower of Mr Tilak and was present at Surat. The second incident was when, as the Secretary of the last Madras Congress he tried to bring about a reunion of the Congress with Mr Tilak's party for he felt as every one else did that, with the advent of Mr Tilak into the Congress a new career of usefulness would be opened to that great national institution and that without his support the institution would languish. He said that the whole of the vast silent gathering was itself a monument to memory of the late Mr Tilak. In the last Madras Provincial Conference held at Tinnevely the greatest procession that he had ever seen greater than kings could receive was due to the fact that Mr Tilak was expected. The most significant thing was that after his death men of all parties had come to realise that the truest worker for India's cause was the late Mr Tilak. He (the speaker) hoped that from the ashes of the late Mr Tilak would rise a newer and more vigorous Congress to lead this country to the realisation of full Responsible Government (Hear hear) Seldom was it given to a man to dream far in advance of his time and of his

community, and to realise that dream very nearly within his own life-time. The one man who dreamt the dream of an Indian nation unafraid of the bureaucracy was the late Mr. Tilak. If anyone, any Indian, had to-day made the Indian people unafraid of the bureaucracy it was the late Mr. Tilak and nobody else. No doubt it would be easy enough for them to take up the lead when the great statesman and captain had done his work. Mr Tilak had one other great difficulty, greater than that of fighting with the bureaucracy and that was fighting with his own countrymen. He had to stir the people to their depths, and to make them fit for self-Government. He desired to inform them of the one great lesson he had learnt from Mr Tilak's life. Mr Tilak was not a great speaker and he would not be remembered by the speeches that he had made. He was a man pre-eminently of action. He was a man who understood the Gita in its truest sense and practised it year in and year out and all day long and he died with the Gita on his lips. They should all strive to emulate his example. It would be profitless to attempt a table of comparisons. India had produced some of the greatest men during recent years. Mr Tilak, Mr Gokhale, Mr Gandhi, Mr. Lajpat Rai and Mr. Malaviya were the five names that would always rise to his lips whenever he thought of his country. Let them not imagine for a moment that Mazzini and Garibaldi

had done greater work or were greater men than these five names. A quiet and noostentatious patriotism which was not vociferous, which was seldom heard of but which was always felt, was Mr. Tilak's motto. He lived the life which patriots should live. He was a man of iron will and nerve, of intense suffering, but suffering had only purified and strengthened him the more. He was a man in whom there was no effeminacy. He retained to the last a splendid virility of intellect and a clarity of vision. He was a man the like of whom you may search for in the whole of India but you will hardly be able to replace. He was the generalissimo as he liked to call him of their national army leading them on to freedom. No doubt there were others able men who would lead them on. In these days the rank and the file had got a spirit through the traditions of Mr. Tilak and they would make it impossible for any leader to lead them astray. Therefore he had not the slightest doubt in saying that Mr. Tilak had not lived his life in vain. He had built the Indian Nation and he had made a virile Indian people. Above all he had practised before their very eyes the lessons of a practical statesmanship of a high and independent type. He was sure that these lessons of his life if properly understood and practised should lead them on to the goal which he had in view. He could not think of a better form of memorial for Mr. Tilak than the erection of a Tilak Hall with a

bust or statue in it. It was the most appropriate form of memorial. As Mr. Tilak was a democrat by temperament and by conviction he would appeal to every one in the audience to impose upon himself the task of securing a large amount of money and to make the movement a thorough success. At least 2 lakhs would be required for acquiring a decent site and constructing a super-structure, and at least 20 to 30 thousands would be required for a statue. Something like 2 to 3 lakhs would be required and certainly it was not a great task for the democracy of their presidency and the aristocracy and the plutocracy to make this movement a success. Time was when the political Pharisees had to boycott Mr. Tilak but to-day they found a completely different state of things. The quantity and the quality of the achievement of their great leader, the greatest perhaps of their leaders, could not be better illustrated than by the absolute unanimity of opinion as to his qualities. If only a rupee fund was started amongst the students, the agriculturists, merchants and others, it ought to be perfectly successful. It would be a political education in itself and opportunities should be taken to teach and bring home to the masses of the people the lessons of Mr. Tilak's life.

A DAY OF MOURNING

MR S SATYAMURTI

Mr S Satyamurti proposed the third resolution which was in the following terms —

This meeting calls upon the Indian public of the Presidency to observe the 9th day of August as a day of mourning as a mark of respect to Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

Mr Satyamurti at the onset paid a tribute of respect to the memory of the departed leader who was all that was best, noblest, most patriotic and most sincere in modern India. He considered Mr Tilak an *avatar*. His name had been written indelibly on the history of nearly half a century of Indian political progress. If in spite of the cruel persecution at the hands of the bureaucracy and more cruel persecution at the hands of a section of his own countrymen who pursued him with a relentless heart almost to his grave and would not allow him to do his work unimpeded and if in spite again of the general apathy and indifference which he must have found among his countrymen thirty or forty years ago when he first began his public work he had to-day earned for himself a position by which he compelled even unwilling enemies to try to pay a belated tribute after he had been gathered unto his fathers. Mr Tilak had certainly a title to be called an *avatar*. At any rate the speaker knew

this that, while all other patriots whose names now blazon forth on the flags of this league and that league and this association and that would be forgotten and buried, the name of Bala Gangadara Tilak would remain so long as India remained, so long as the Indian nation remained and so long as even one Indian lived in any part of this world who remembered the history of his country. That was no mean achievement. It was because he was privileged to be a contemporary of Mr. Tilak, to look at his face, to listen to his words and worship at his shrine, he was on the plat-form that night to speak of his greatness not in a mournful mood but in a triumphant mood. He had travelled in and out of the presidency and he would assure them that there was not another man in India, not even in the whole world, who could command the welcome, the enthusiasm and the rousing reception which Lokamanya had wherever he went, from the literate or illiterate, wealthy or poor, high born or low born. He had had long conversations with him but there was not a single occasion when Mr. Tilak talked of himself, of his personal achievements in the past or of his personal hopes in the future. All the time he was talking about his country, what to do and how to do towards its progress. His one great idea was to start a permanent mission in England and America for doing propaganda work in the cause of India's political advancement. On Mr. Tilak landing

at the Alexandra docks he was caught by eager and enthusiastic crowds and the speaker saw the Europeans on the ship standing and wondering who this man was who in his country which they were coming to rule, should be welcomed in this fashion—and the speaker sarcastically remarked they would be going on asking and wondering till the end of time. While proceeding to Tionevally to attend the Provincial Conference, he saw at almost every station from Madras downwards eager and expectant crowds with offerings of milk, fruits and flowers to the Lokamanya. How did Mr Tilak achieve all this popularity nobody could explain. It might be said it was due to persecution which he suffered yes other people had been persecuted and they had been foud out after persecution. But Mr Tilak came out like burnished gold all the brighter for his sufferings. He was not a rich man nor honoured by the bureaucracy with titles he was in exile for six long years during which a less strong popular and patriotic man might have been forgotten. But when he came back to his land the public welcomed their returning hero in a way that princes might have envied. Mr Tilak was a politician of the democratic type, not anxious to impose his will on his followers. He was of a type in the words of Babu Arambodo Ghosh not very common among their leaders one who could both awake the spirit of the masses and respond to

their spirit, able to lead them but also able to see where he must follow the lead of their predominant sense, will and feelings. Mr. Tilak did not claim, as no leader ought to claim, the monopoly of intellect, patriotism, courage and self-sacrifice. He did not say 'to the Congress "If you did not, as I want you to do, I have to seek another platform." It had been said that he was a Congress-breaker in Surat. Nothing could be a grosser calumny.

He was one of the most towering personalities at the Congress platform but for whose advent, the Congress would have been a cold lifeless body into which tired Vakils, title-holders and opportunists came to seek relaxation and show to the bureaucracy that it would be their worthwhile to buy them and that they were buyable. With the advent of Mr. Tilak, the Congress began for the first time to be Indian and national. That achievement by itself would entitle Mr. Tilak to their everlasting gratitude. It was trotted out that Mr. Tilak was an anti-social reformer. His voyage to England at a time when he was very old was enough proof that he was prepared to take the boldest social step if his country's interest demanded it. He was one of those who refused to allow the foreign missionary, the foreign planter, trader and bureaucrat to exploit their social differences in order that he might pretend to be the arbiter between the different races in India. He believed and acted on the belief that if

they should have social justice in this country they must have political freedom. He realised that once India was politically free social reformers like Chaitanya and Ramanuja would rise and the great gospel he gave to his people was to use his very words spoken in June 1907 — Though down trodden and neglected you must be conscious of your power of making the administration impossible if you but choose to make it so. Again in 1917 he said — I am young in spirit though old in body. I do not wish to lose this privilege of youth. Freedom is my birthright. As long as it is awake within me I am not old. No weapons can cut this spirit no fire can burn it no water can wet it no wind can dry it. I say further that no C. I. D. can burn it. I declare the same principle to the Superintendent of Police who is sitting before me to the Collector who had been invited to attend this meeting and to the Government shorthand writer who is busy taking down notes of our speeches. This principle will not disappear even if it seems to be killed. We ask for Home Rule and we must get it. His ultimatum to the bureaucracy was delivered in the same year in which he said — We are entitled to the possession of the whole house and if we allow you to share our power with you in that house it is a concession made for you in the hope that you will soon clear out of it. You have managed the house so long you have been living in the house. We

will allow you to live in it for a longer time, but eventually you must acknowledge that from to-day we are masters of the house. Then alone can there be any compromise ; otherwise none." There were three notable lessons which they all must learn, taught by the lifelong service of Lokamanya and they were indomitable courage, pride in one's country, not mere apologetic patriotism, and loyalty to the party. Of Tilak they might say, what he himself had said of the late Mr. Shishir Kumar Ghosh—"We thank God that we had such a man in India. He was a hero in the true sense of the word. He did not see his aspirations fulfilled. But we cannot forget that it was he who laid the foundation. Such a man deserved to be respected not only during this life but for all time to come."

MR YAKUB HASSAN.

Mr Yakub Hassan said that the life of Mr Tilak was from the beginning to the end a series of struggles and that he had shown good example of self-sacrifice in every struggle. When the Indians were making a departure from their time-honoured ways of agitation and were embarking on a new form of activity calculated to impress their rulers and to make them redress their grievances that were crying for revenge, no one

except perhaps Mr Gandhi could set an example worthy of following other than Mr Tilak. At such a juncture the loss of Mr Tilak to the country was irreparable. He (the speaker) considered it his privilege to associate himself with mournful duty of expressing their regard for the deceased's memory

MR. P KESAVA PILLAI

Dewan Bahadar P Kesava Pillai said that he felt it a blessing that he was there to take part in the proceedings. Since 1887 when he saw Mr Tilak for the first time he had been following his career with great interest and admiration. Tribute to the memory of Mr Tilak, and admiration for the man were not only due from his followers but also from those who differed from him. In order to perpetuate the memory of this great man a statue or other memorial should be created so that people of all classes, creeds and races in this country might remember and contemplate on his life, so that the country might progress politically, socially and religiously.

MR V O CHIDAMBARAM PILLAI

Mr Chidambaram Pillai said that they had lost their Guru and leader Mr Tilak

was a great believer that India would attain self-Government. He wanted to attain that end not through Non-co-operation but to use every legitimate weapon he might possess to gain the end. True lovers of the country should walk in his footsteps to attain self-Government.

“A GREAT MIND, A GREAT WILL.”

Mr. Arabindo Ghosh wrote in the *Independent*:—

A great mind, a great will, a great and pre-eminent leader of men has passed away from the field of his achievement and labour. To the mind of his country, Lokamanya Tilak was much more, for he had become to it a considerable part of itself, the embodiment of its past effort, and the head of its present will and struggle for a free and greater life. His achievement and personality have put him amidst the first rank of historic and significant figures. He was one who built much rapidly out of little beginnings, a creator of great things out of an unworked material. The creations he left behind him were a new and strong and self-reliant national spirit, the reawakened political mind and life of a people; a will to freedom and action, a great national purpose. He brought to his work extraordinary qualities, a calm, silent, unflinching courage, an

unwavering purpose, a flexible mind a forward casting vision of possibilities, an eye for the occasion, a sense of actuality a fine capacity of democratic leadership a diplomacy that never lost sight of its aim and pressed towards it even in the most pliant turns of its movements and guiding all a single minded patriotism that cared for power and influence only as a means of service to the Mother land and a lever for the work of her liberation He sacrificed much for her and suffered for her repeatedly and made no ostentation of his suffering and sacrifices His life was a constant offering at her altar and his death has come in the midst of an unceasing service and labour

HIS LEGACY

The passing of this great personality creates a large and immediate void that will be felt acutely for a time but it is the virtue of his own work that this vacancy must very soon be filled by new men and new forces The spirit he created in the country is of that sincere real and fruitful kind that cannot consent to cease or to fail but must always throw up minds and capacities that will embody its purpose It will raise up others of his mould if not of his stature to meet its needs its demands its call for nobility and courage He himself has only passed behind the veil for death and not life is the illusion The strong spirit that dwelt within him

ranges now freed from our human and physical limitations, and can still shed upon us, on those now at work, and those who are coming, a more subtle, ample and irresistible influence; and even if this were not so, an effective part of him is still with us. His will is left behind in many to make more powerful and free from hesitations the national will he did so much to create, the growing 'will, whose strength and single wholeness are the chief conditions of the success of the national effort. His courage is left behind in numbers to fuse itself into and uplift and fortify the courage of his people; his sacrifice and strength in suffering are left with us to enlarge themselves, more even than in his life-time, and to heighten the fine and steeled temper our people need for the difficult share that still lies before its endeavour. These things are his legacy to his country, and it is in proportion as each man rises to the height of what they signify that his life will be justified and assured of its recompense.

Methods and policies may change but the spirit of what Lokamanya Tilak was and did remains and will continue to be needed and constant power in others for the achievement of his own life's grand and single purpose. A great worker and creator is not to be judged only by the work he himself did, but also by the greater work he made possible. The achievement of the departed leader has brought the Nation to a certain point. Its power to go forward

from and beyond that point to face new circumstances, to rise to the more strenuous and momentous demand of its future will be the greatest and surest sign of the soundness of his labour. That test is being applied to the National Movement at the very moment of his departure.

The death of Lokamanya Tilak comes upon us at a time when the country is passing through most troubled and poignant hours. It occurred at a critical period it coincides even with a crucial moment when questions are being put to the nation by the Master of Destiny on the answer to which depends the whole spirit virtue and meaning of its future. In each event that confronts us there is a Divine significance and the passing away at such a time of such a man on whose thought and decision thousands hung should make more profoundly felt by the people by every man in the Nation the great the almost religious responsibility that lies upon him personally.

THE TWO ISSUES

At this juncture it is not for me to prejudge the issue each must meet it according to his light and conscience. This at least can be demanded of every man who would be worthy of India and of her great departed son that he shall put away from him in the decision of the things to be done in the future all weakness of will all defect of courage all

unwillingness for sacrifice. Let each strive to see with that selfless impersonality, taught by one of our greatest scriptures, which can alone enable us to identify ourselves both with the Divine Will and with the Soul of our Mother. Two things India demands for the future, the freedom of soul, life and action needed for the work she has to do for mankind; and the understanding by her children of that work and of her own true spirit that the future India may be indeed India. The first seems still the main sense and need of the present moment, but the second is also involved in them--a yet greater issue. On the spirit of our decisions now and in the next few years depends the truth, vitality and greatness of our future national existence. It is the beginning of a great Self-Determination not only in the external but in the spiritual. These two thoughts should govern our action. Only so can the work done by Lokamanya Tilak find its true continuation and issue.

"A MAKER OF MODERN INDIA"

Mahatma Gandhi wrote in *Young India* :—

Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak is no more. It is difficult to believe of him as dead. He was so much part of the people. No man of our times had the hold on the masses that Mr. Tilak had. The

devotion that he commanded from thousands of his countrymen was extraordinary. He was unquestionably the idol of his people. His word was law among thousands. A giant among men has fallen. The voice of the lion is hushed.

What was the reason for his hold upon his countrymen? I think the answer is simple. His patriotism was a passion with him. He knew no religion but love of his country. He was a born democrat. He believed in the rule of majority with an intensity that fairly frightened me. But that gave him his hold. He had an iron will which he used for his country. His life was an open book. His tastes were simple. His private life was spotlessly clean. He had dedicated his wonderful talents to his country. No man preached the gospel of Swaraj with the consistency and the insistence of Lokamanya. His countrymen therefore implicitly believed in him. His courage never failed him. His optimism was irrepressible. He had hoped to see Swaraj fully established during his life time. If he failed it was not his fault. He certainly brought it nearer by many more years. It is for us, who remain behind to put forth redoubled effort to make it a reality in the shortest possible time.

Lokamanya was an implacable foe of the bureaucracy but this is not to say that he was a hater

of Englishmen or English rule. I warn Englishmen against making the mistake of thinking that he was their enemy.

I had the privilege of listening to an impromptu, learned discourse by him, at the time of the last Calcutta Congress on Hindi being the national language. He had just returned from the Congress pandal. It was a treat to listen to his calm discourse on Hindi. In the course of his address he paid a glowing tribute to the English for their care of the Vernaculars. His English visit, in spite of his sad experience of English juries, made him a staunch believer in British democracy and he even seriously made the amazing suggestion that India should instruct it on the Punjab through the cinematograph. I relate this incident not because I share his belief (for I do not) but in order to show that he entertained no hatred for Englishmen. But he could not and would not put up with an inferior status of India in the Empire. He wanted immediate equality which he believed was his country's birthright. And in his struggle for India's freedom he did not spare the Government. In the battle for freedom he gave no quarter and asked for none. I hope that Englishmen will recognise the worth of the man whom India has adopted.

For us, he will go down to the generations yet unborn as a maker of modern India. They will

revere his memory as of a man who lived for them and died for them. It is blasphemy to talk of such a man as dead. The permanent essence of him abides with us for ever. Let us erect for the only Lokamanya of India an imperishable monument by weaving into our own lives his bravery, his simplicity, his wonderful industry and his love of his country. May God grant his soul peace!

TILAK—THE FATHER OF INDIAN UNREST

BY MR. N. C. KELKAR.

My close personal association with Lokamanya Tilak for over twenty-four years may perhaps be regarded as a disqualification in me to write anything like a formal obituary of him. But I take another view of the matter. The humblest may I think, pay their tribute to the highest. And while I have myself been receiving along with the two sons of Lokamanya Tilak hundreds of messages of sympathy and condolence from others I feel even I must for a moment take up a position of objective detachment and say a few words about the Lokamanya if only to relieve my surging sentiments of admiration and gratitude to him. In doing so however I have to be brief and I will therefore

give the go-bye to the hundred and one common-places that could be said with absolute truth about the grief which has overwhelmed his family, his friends, his party and his country, and will touch only three or four points of his character which, in my opinion, form the real key to his greatness.

LOVE OF SACRIFICE.

There were certain very pronounced virtues in him which distinguished Lokamanya Tilak from his peers. At the beginning of his public career he showed a love of sacrifice which endured to the end of his life. He was, on our side at any rate, the first LL B. to start a secondary school and live on thirty rupees a month. The school was indeed only a first step to the founding of a press and a newspaper. But even here the spirit of self-sacrifice, which actuated him to give up Law, was the dominating feature of the enterprise. Till 1891 he did not take a single rupee from the press concern for his contributions to the newspapers, the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*. In 1891 he purchased the papers as a proprietary concern, but only burdened with a debt of seven thousand rupees, which took seven years more to liquidate, and in the meanwhile he maintained himself on a Law class. It was only since 1899 that he could maintain himself with ease on the profits of the *Kesari*. But he always spent very largely on public business from these, in fact

the cash box of the *Kesari* was the main financial reserve for many a movement in the Maharashtra and elsewhere. He always obliged the rich as well as the poor by writing petitions and memorials for them without charging a single pie. And during forty years he wrote so many petitions that the emoluments earned from them would have amounted to a fortune. The scholarly book which he wrote did not, with the exception of the *Gita Rahasya* bring him anything and by an irony of fortune most of the profits of edition after edition of that famous philosophical work were spent to cover a deficit in the *Kesari* owing to the high prices of printing paper during the year of the war.

Steadfastness of friendship was another of his prominent virtues. The celebrated Adoption Case which arose out of his trusteeship accepted out of a mere duty to a friend on death bed cost him far more time and money on the whole than his imprisonment and prosecutions. The proceedings lasted off and on from 1901 to the end of his life. His latest triumph over his powerful litigant enemies was won in the Bombay High Court only one week before his death. Throughout this period he spent out of his own pocket over thirty five thousand rupees of which not a single pie has yet been recovered. It would I think, be difficult to find in all the annals of our public men an example of this nature. The adopted boy is indeed a monument of

good fortune, in that he got a man like Lokamanya Tilak as his patron and next friend.

The moral purity of Lokamanya Tilak's private life was another of his outstanding virtues. He was absolutely free from any unethical taint, and it was only because he had such a spotless character that he could always hold his head erect and his face unabashed amidst his enemies. He no doubt attacked his enemies mercilessly but it was not sufficiently recognised that he could do so mainly because he was not living in a glass-house himself. Would his enemies or Government have ever spared him if they could have found a single flaw in his character? The purity of private life was his unassailable stronghold.

AN INTELLECTUAL GIANT

As regards intellect, it is admitted on all hands that for acuteness and subtlety he had few equals in the length and breadth of the country. There were many who could display deeper depths of knowledge, wider expanses of sympathy, greater variety of tastes, and could diffuse much finer or sweeter aroma of culture around them. But in point of sheer intellectual acuteness and resourcefulness few could beat Lokamanya Tilak. With a wonderful instinct he always scored a bull's eye in argument, and hit the nail right on the head of the crux in any controversy. And the versatility of his intellect

was even as great as his acuteness. He was equally at ease in discussing matters of controversy whether the question was one relating to the ethics of the Gita or the adaptation of the key board of the English Linotype to the Marathi composing system the fixing of the birth date of Shivaji or the most proper method of Marathi orthography the revision by astronomical adjustments of the Hindu calendar or the latest development in the appliances of hand-spinning of yarn the interpretation of an archaic vedic text or an obscure clause of the Police Act. In fact like Bacon he could claim all departments of knowledge as his province and with short notice he could arm himself well enough to give battle to the expert in any field. It is really doubtful which he loved more politics or scholarship though he actually devoted more time to the former.

As a writer he was extremely pointed and pithy. He was sternly logical scornful of ornamentation forceful and blunt and mercilessly aggressive and never gave quarter to the enemy. As a speaker also he commanded attention. Never a master of the subtle graces of the art of eloquence his strength lay in the subject matter and argument. And on occasions his vehemence swept the field like a wild hurricane or slashing sheet. Always true to his own ground he took the audience off his feet and invariably remained conqueror of the situation.

MAN OF THE CENTURY

But all these qualities, individually or in the aggregate, could not have made Mr. Tilak what he was, namely, the idol of the people and the man of the century. Lokamanya Tilak's unparalleled popularity could not be adequately accounted for by his high education, his urbane culture, his keen intellect, his learned scholarship, his versatile genius, his journalistic enterprise, his powerful eloquence, his purity of character, his steadfastness of friendship, his magnetic personality, his material selflessness, or even his towering patriotism. Some of these eminent qualities, he shared with this or that leader in this or that province of India, or in his own province for the matter of that. All these qualities together no doubt made him great, but what made him a hero among his people is something else. Heroism is described as a military attitude of the soul towards external evil, and the stout affirmation of one's ability to cope single-handed with an infinite army of enemies. This attitude characterised Lokamanya Tilak throughout his life, and the particular form of external evil that he chose to fight against was the political domination of his country by foreigners. It is no use mincing matters here, and I for one am prepared to accept the choice epithets showered on him by Government and its minions as only tributes of praise in disguise to Lokamanya Tilak. Sir

Valentine Chirol rendered a signal service to Loka manya Tilak by describing him as the 'Father of Indian Unrest' and I am quite sure that Tilak would not have snubbed Sir Valentine if the latter had stopped at that, and not vilified him by reflections upon his private character. The Father of Indian Unrest indeed! A similar and yet a pithier description of such a patriot as Tilak was can hardly be imagined. The rousing of a sense of self respect in the Indian people the creation of a hope of a bright future before them the assertion of their full natural rights as a nation and the infusion of a spirit of proud and even reckless defiance of any thing that may stand in the way of all this—that was the main theme of all his idealism and realism. This theme he held in a relentless grip throughout his life, and like a consummate general concentrated all his powers and energies in life upon that single objective. That is why Government hated him that is why those who differed from him disliked him and that is also why the people in every part of the country loved him. In him they knew they ever had a stout and a faithful champion.

Heroism like his naturally took time to receive its recognition. But it came at last. Says Emerson —

Heroism works in contradiction to the voice of mankind and in contradiction for a time to the

voice of the great and good. Heroism is an obedience to a secret impulse of an individual's character. Now to no other man can its wisdom appear as it does to him. Therefore just and wise men take umbrage at his acts until after little time be past they see it in unison with their acts. All prudent men see that the action is clean contrary to a sensual prosperity; for every heroic act measures itself by its contempt of some external good. But it finds its own success at last, and then the prudent also extol."

And so it was also with the heroism of Lokamanya Tilak!

A SCHOLAR AND A PATRIOT.

M R. JAYAKAR, M A ,LL B , BAR-AT-LAW, Bombay

A pathetic interest attaches to the memory of Lokamanya Tilak at the present moment. His was a life singularly full of contest, carried on with an energy and vigour which stood in characteristic contrast to the modesty and culture with which nature had endowed him. He once stated to a friend that if he had been born in more peaceful times, when it was possible to live with perfect self-respect under the Government of his own countrymen, he would never have thought of politics, but

would have gladly accepted the dignity and restfulness of a scholar's life. I still vividly remember the paper he read years ago on an archaeological subject at the Bombay Presidency Association under the presidency of Mr Dinshaw Wacha as he then was. The one impression he then left on the minds of his audience was a profound feeling of loss which archaeology and scholarship had sustained owing to his advent into politics. Those who knew and studied him critically in the latter days of his career could not help feeling that when left to himself and out of the regions of political warfare, he automatically relapsed into the repose and shyness of a true scholar. Foreign rule perpetrates many tragedies but the worst of them all arises from the adventitious importance it bestows upon political agitation drawing away from the fields of literature philosophy and science many men meant by nature to be their passionate votaries. The justification of these noble-minded men for devoting their lives to the arid pursuit of politics lies in the belief which they most devoutly cherish that while the mass of their countrymen is buried in servitude and ignorance the quiet delight of research and scholarship are unjustifiable luxuries, which they have no right to enjoy until the entire country is blessed with freedom. Politics to them is a sacrifice—an unpleasant pursuit undertaken owing to the sheer necessities of the case and followed out of o

feeling of obligation to their country. We rest our plea for Self-government on many grounds, but the best plea which can appeal to a cultured people, is based upon the necessity of so ordering and regulating society as to leave every man free to follow and develop the tastes and propensities with which nature has endowed him. The ancient Hindu belief was that life was given to us as the best gift of the gods, the purpose of which lay in the complete fruition of our natural endowments. A social environment in which such freedom cannot be secured is not *life* but the reverse of it and the whole effort of patriots is often concerned with securing for their countrymen this most vital condition of life and growth. Viewed by these tests Lokamanya Tilak's life reached a high standard. Courage of conviction and boldness of vision were the main features of that great fighter's career. But beneath all the warring elements and the din and discord of political strife, the critical eye frequently discerned the tenderness and humility of a true patriot. I feel no doubt that as time advances and the embers of the controversies die which he often fanned with the vigour of his opposition, the true beauty and nobility of his career as a man and patriot will be more visible to many, who knew him only as the powerful opponent of an equally powerful bureaucracy.

Mr JINNAH

Mr Jinnah said in the course of a speech at a public meeting held at Bombay —

Mr Tilak had as they all knew incessantly worked for the cause of his country for more than fifty years. He (the speaker) did not think he was exaggerating when he said that the present political consciousness that had been awakened in the people of India was in no small degree due to his persistent efforts in the cause of his Motherland. Mr Tilak was associated with many movements. He (Mr Jinnah) had the privilege and the honour to work with him in some and he could tell them that it would be very difficult to describe the various services that he had rendered to their country in so short a space of time. He (Mr Jinnah) had no doubt that volumes might be written about his work in the political, social and literary world. Whether some of them saw eye to eye with him or not, whether in some views of Mr Tilak they agreed with him or not, one thing he (the speaker) had no hesitation in saying and it was that he was worshipped by hundreds that he was followed by thousands and that he was admired by millions of the people of India. (Cheers.)

The loss of such a great man at this juncture was a great misfortune for India. His place not only in the Maharashtra but in the whole of India

would be difficult to fill to-day. (Cheers). They were passing through the most critical times, and one thing might be said of Mr. Tilak, that he was a sagacious, farseeing politician of the very first order (Hear, hear). He knew how far to go ; he knew how far to lead his people. He was no dreamer, but a practical, shrewd and sagacious politician. Such a man was gone from among them. They had gathered together that evening to pay their homage to his memory and that great gathering showed in what great estimate, in what great regard, in what great reverence and admiration he was held by the citizens of Bombay, for the work he had done and for the services he had rendered.

AFTER TWO YEARS.

BY BIPIN CHANDRA PAL.

I think, after two years of feverish futility, Maharashtra, if not the entire body of old Indian Nationalists, must be feeling the loss of Lokamanya Tilak's leadership of Indian politics infinitely more deeply than they have hitherto done. Neither before him nor after his ascension has India had a leader with truer political instincts than Bal Gangadhar Tilak. He recognised the autonomy of the different departments of life, whether individual or national, and while always seeking to draw the

inspiration of our political endeavours from the ideals of our religion, he never mixed up the forms and formulæ of the religious life with those of the political life.

The institution of the Ganapati festival proved his unerring insight into the psychology of the Indian mind. He saw that the Indian masses could never be moved by purely secular motives. Unless our modern political movements were harnessed to the hereditary religious instincts of the people these would never have any soul-stirring appeal for them. In the worship of the Ganapati which was almost universal in the Maharashtra Bal Gangadhar Tilak recognised a possible symbol and instrument with the help of which popular religion could be transfigured into a noble patriotic sentiment and our modern political movements also could be transformed into a real civic religion as it is called in modern western thought.

With his wide and deep knowledge of the religious and philosophical literature of his people he had seen how from age to age ancient and archaic religious formule and rites had been interpreted, explained and adjusted to the living requirements of contemporary social life by successive generations of the "Fathers of the great Hindu Church" as Mahadeo Govinda Ranade used to call our law givers and canonical interpreters. In the resuscitation of the Ganapati festival, in its reinterpretation

to meet modern requirements and its readjustment to present-day conditions, Mr. Tilak advanced his claims to be ranked with those ancient fathers of our religion. His *Gita-Rahasya* has finally established his title to this honour. And the peculiarity of his genius is seen in the way he has fully preserved the continuity of modern progressive movements with the unbroken traditions of the race that have come down to us from the time of the most ancient Vedic Samhitas.

I refer to this aspect of Mr. Tilak's life for the consideration of those of his critics who are prone to regard him as a mere politician and secularist, who had no deep and abiding sense of the spiritual and the absolute in him and whose only rule of life had therefore been mere political expediency. The multitudes no doubt looked upon him as a great political leader. But those who had any intimate acquaintance with his complex personality and had occasion to see him in the quiet and simplicity of his private life knew that the secret springs of his public activities came from his profound, though exceedingly reserved, emotional nature and his deep spiritual intuitions.

Lokamanya Tilak rarely spoke of religion. But when he did refer to religious experiences, to drive home to his audience, his Nationalist ideals or appeals, one saw the depth and variety of his religious nature. I remember one instance of it.

He was addressing a huge crowd at Bijapur. That was the only occasion when I heard him speak in his own native tongue. And what a powerful orator he was in pure simple, homely Marathi was seen in this remarkable address. Bijapur was at that time rent by sectarian dissensions between the Lingayats and the other Hindu denominations. Referring to these dissensions Lokamanya Tilak declared that 'love of country, like love of God never tolerated distinctions of castes or sects. As to him who loves God all men are equal equally objects of his own love and service even so to the man who loves his country every one of his countrymen irrespective of his caste or creed is an object of love and must claim his devoted service. These words are still ringing in my ears. They were a new revelation to me of the hidden character of the man. They proved the depth and strength of his religious experiences and convictions as equally as they proved his deathless devotion to his country and his people. But while drawing the inspiration of his public and political activities from the secret springs of his religious life Bal Gangadhar Tilak never mixed up the laws and forms of the one with those of the other. In this he followed in the footsteps of the ancient fathers of the Hindu Church.

All our political works have a reference to the soul life. Bhishma's dissertations on political science

in the Mahabharata formed part of the book which deals with salvation. These are found in the *Rajadharma-Adhyaya* in *Mokshaparbhadhyaya*. The object of politics, we read in the *Sukra-nti*, is the attainment of Moksha or salvation. So it is with all our works on political science. The object of this science has always been presented as the attainment of salvation. So also was with Bal Gangadhar Tilak. His politics too had a profound, though hidden, soul-reference.

Politics is both a science and an art. As a science it forms part of the highest spiritual culture and is affiliated to religion. As an art it had its own rules and regulations and claimed absolute autonomy. Bal Gangadhar Tilak recognised this autonomy of politics and therefore always refused to mix up his political propaganda with mediæval religious appeals. This is exceedingly significant. Because as a Brahmin, if only he had used his Brahminical sanctity in his politics, he might have 'worked up a tremendous awakening among the Hindu masses and secured for him a much wider and infinitely more fateful leadership in Indian political life. But Lokamanya Tilak recognised the dangers of such a combination. With his keen statesmanlike instinct he saw that to mix up Nationalist politics with mediæval religion would result in bringing about fatal complications in our present political life. These complications could be easily utilised by the

British bureaucracy to strengthen their own position and thereby defeat the objects of our Nationalist political endeavours more easily and effectively than could be done otherwise.

What Lokamanya Tilak refused to do has been done since his departure by the new leadership in the country. An attempt has been made during the last two years to draw the Indian masses both Hindu and Mahomedan to the present political struggle by appealing to their religious instincts and traditions. The appeal of the Khilafat is an undoubtedly religious appeal. The Mahomedan masses have been drawn to the present movement not by any genuine political appeal much less by the inspiration of National freedom or Swarajya, but at the call of mediæval religion. This might not have been so serious from the political and Nationalist point of view if the great bulk of the Mahomedan leaders had themselves been free from the inspiration of this mediæval faith. But unfortunately every pronouncement of these leaders has sought to base the case of the Khilafat upon the authority of the Kuran. They have without a single exception tried to pit this religious authority against the authority of the civil government in the country.

It is a mere accident that this civil government just now is not a National government, but is in the hands of a bureaucracy who have been running the

machinery of the state primarily and absolutely not in our own interests but in the interests of another nation. But what guarantee is there that those who are trying to set up the authority of their denominational scriptures against that of the present government in the country, will not continue to do the same even when we have a National government. The institutes and laws of National government in India can no more be Hindu than Moslem or Christian. There can possibly be no National government in India consisting, as it does, of a mixed population like ours, professing many creeds and owing allegiance to many scriptures and socio-religious codes, unless it be separated from all credal and denominational particularities and be built upon the complete autonomy of political and the civil life as distinguished from the religious and the spiritual life. The National state in India of our time cannot be a denominational state, but must be a secular state, which while claiming absolute autonomy for itself, will concede the same autonomy to the various religious denominations in the country, so far as the profession and practice of their own religion are concerned. This really is the ideal of the modern state all the world over. It must reconcile its supreme political authority over its subjects, to whatever denominations they may belong, with the authority of their religious traditions and scriptures in all matters concerning their

personal religious obligations. This reconciliation has been worked out by the present government in the country. And whatever we may do to replace this government by a National or Swarajya government, we cannot for the very life of the future National government of India do anything to create any conceit of religious obligations in any section of the Indian community which will encourage them to set up the authority of their religious traditions and scriptures over and against the authority of the government, or which will otherwise weaken or destroy the present autonomy of our state—life and the reconciliation which has been worked between the civil and the religious life and authority by the present government. The greatest credit and distinction of Mr. Tilak's political life and activities lay in the fact that he never sought to mix up mediæval religion with modern politics. And he done so his success might have been superficially infinitely more than what it was. But at the same time it would build our political life not upon a rock but upon sands.

Looking back upon the events of the last two years, I feel more deeply than I ever felt before, the loss of Lokamanya Tilak's leadership. He was the one man who could have saved Nationalist politics from the obvious debacle that has overcome it. It is impossible to deny that for the last two years the

Indian National Congress has been deflected from its old course. Its political character has been practically destroyed. Mahatma Gandhi, it may be said with due reverence to his character and personality, is not a politician. His object has never been the political emancipation of his people except incidentally. Ever since his return to India he has been moved by one supreme passion, namely, the passion for the establishment of a new religion called *Satyagraha*. The word is new to our language and literature. He has himself said that he coined this word to distinguish his movement from the purely political movement of passive resistance, with which it bore considerable outer resemblance. The *Satyagraha* is the Mahatma's religion. He wants to propagate this religion to all the peoples of the world. He has frankly admitted that if Swarajya was unattainable by non-violent means he would rather go without Swarajya than give up non-violence. This non-violence is with him an absolute duty. It is the soul of his *Satyagraha*. But there is not and can never be, any such absolutism in politics.

The old Nationalist ideal was Swarajya and not non-violence. The Nationalist did not advocate violence because he clearly realised the suicidal futility of the pursuit of violent revolutionary methods, in the present condition of the country,

for the attainment of Swarajya. But the Nationalist programme of non violence has always been only a method and not an objective of the movement. And it is here that the Mahatma stands differentiated from the whole course of Nationalist Indian politics.

With Bal Gangadhar Tilak Swarajya was the objective of Nationalist endeavours, as it was with all the Nationalist leaders of his generation. Passive resistance, which to them was the same as non violent Non co-operation, was only a means for the realisation of that objective. No means can ever be absolute. The value of every means must be determined by its capacity to secure the end for which it is adopted. With Mahatma Gandhi this non violent Non-co-operation is not a mere means but is an end unto itself. This is why he says that though he believes that Swarajya will be attained by non violent Non co-operation yet even it should fail to achieve Swarajya, he would not give up non violence and adopt any other means for the attainment of Swarajya. Bal Gangadhar Tilak could have never said such a thing. Swarajya was *the passion* of his life. He lived for it. And if God had willed Lokamanya Tilak would not hesitate for a moment to die for Swarajya.

What Swarajya was to Lokamanya Tilak that is *Satyagraha* to Mahatma Gandhi. This *Satyagraha* is the very breath of the life of the Mahatma.

For some years past he has lived for it and he is prepared every moment to die for it if God should demand this sacrifice from him. For the last two years Mahatma Gandhi has been 'using the unique hold which he had secured over the masses both in and outside the Congress, to advance his *Satyagraha*, and not really the cause of Swarajya as we have always understood it. He has, it may be said without offence, practically tried to convert the Indian National Congress into a *Satyagraha* organisation. This fact has been openly brought out in his so-called constructive Bardoli programme. In his statement on this programme he has frankly used the word *Satyagraha* itself, attributing the failure of non-violent Non-co-operation at Chauri Chaura and other places to the indiscriminate recruitment of Congress workers, who were not, all of them, well posted in the principles of *Satyagraha*; and the Bardoli programme insists upon it that none but *Satyagrahis* should be elected as office-bearers of the Congress organisations or enrolled as Congress volunteers in the future. No one who reads the Bardoli literature, can shut his eyes to the fact that the Mahatma has been seeking throughout these two years to advance his new religion with the help of the Congress and Khilafat organisations. He never was, and is not even to-day, a Swarajyist in the sense in which we have always understood the word.

Many causes contributed to the unprecedented upheaval that followed the promulgation of the Mahatma's non-violent Non-co-operation. In the first place, the old Nationalists in every part of the country took this new campaign as a renewal of the old and familiar passive resistance movement of the last Swadeshi and Boycott agitations. Secondly, the severe economic strain of the last eight or nine years had seriously unsettled the Indian masses everywhere, and this new campaign with its promise of securing Swarajya within the year created large hopes of early if not immediate relief of the present economic distress and thus drew the masses in their thousands to the Mahatma's flag. Thirdly, the Khilafat movement appealed to the religious sentiments of the Mahomedan masses and helped to draw them to the present campaign. Fourthly, the character and personality of the Mahatma working upon mediæval religious traditions and superstitions, endowed him with supernatural and divine powers and attracted the multitude both Hindu and Mahomedan to a movement carried on in his name and under his authority. And lastly, the bulk of the old Congressmen recognising the great influence which the Mahatma had secured over the public mind accepted his programme and policy without any searching analysis or criticism simply with a view to give him the fullest opportunity to try his experiment. The general feeling at Nagpur

during the Christmas of 1920 among old Congressmen was, "let him have a chance. If he can secure Swarajya within the year as he promises to do by this means, he should have an absolutely free hand in the matter. If he fails to redeem his promise by the 31st December, 1921, we shall be free to follow our own light and organise our own work" This was how the Nationalist leaders accepted the situation at Nagpur. And I have been tempted to ask myself, would Mr. Tilak, if he were with us to-day, take this view and adopt this policy? It is the policy of dilettante Nationalism. Lokamanya Tilak was not a *dilettante* politician or Nationalist. Before accepting this policy he would have considered every possible aspect of it. He would have examined in the crucible of his masterly intellect, the reasonable probabilities of the Mahatma's redeeming his promise. He would have considered the consequences of his failure and how it would affect first the position of the Government and secondly, the Nationalist cause. And he would have easily seen with the help of his trained intelligence and statesmanlike imagination, almost everything that has happened during the last year and a half. And seeing all these things, he would strain every nerve to prevent the possibilities of evil that lay hidden behind this programme.

But Providence willed otherwise, and the country was deprived of Mr. Tilak's leadership at a time when

it was so sorely needed. The Nationalist party, as we have known it since the Swadeshi days, has been widowed through his loss and the cause which he dearly loved has received a serious set back during the last two years. The Non-co-operation campaign was an open challenge to the Government. It was a trial of strength between the British bureaucracy on the one side and the people of the country on the other. And what is the result? We can show, no doubt with pardonable pride an unprecedented volume of sacrifice and suffering cheerfully accepted by the people at the call of the Mahatma. Over three thousand persons are rotting in British prisons, to-day for their loyalty to him. This is no doubt a great moral asset. This sacrifice and these sufferings will never go in vain. Nothing whether good or evil goes in vain in God's world. 'Good begets good' evil begets evil. And the spirit of good embodied in these sacrifices is bound to produce its necessary fruit in course of time. Then the amount of money collected from the hard earned coffers of an indigent people that have been spent during these two years on this Non-co-operation propaganda. That also has been something to the good as indicating a new spirit of patriotism and self sacrifice in the rank and file of Indian politicians. The moral effect of this pecuniary sacrifice also must reproduce itself in greater determination and larger sacrifices for the attainment of the goal. Then last, though not the

least of all, the great awakening in the masses, to whatever psychological causes it may be due, and whether the inspiration of it is mediæval religion or modern politics, is also an invaluable asset to our present public life, which will be bound under proper direction, by-and-bye, to lend invincible strength to the country's demand for political freedom and self-determination. All these must be set to the credit of present Non-co-operation movement. And whether one accepts the Mahatma's political philosophy or not, one must be grateful to him for having worked up these miracles and brought about this great upheaval within so short a time. When one considers these results, one cannot honestly say that the last two years have been entirely wasted.

But against all these, which may be set on the credit side of the account, there is also a heavy debit side. The main object of Non-co-operation, as understood by the great bulk of our politicians, was to paralyse the administration and mortally weaken even if it could not at once destroy the great hold which the present government has secured on the people. This object has woefully failed. Mr Rajagopalchariar, who is perhaps the sincerest *Satyagrahi* among the Mahatma's prominent lieutenants, and who has stepped into his shoes as the leader of the movement, frankly confesses that all sacrifices and sufferings of the Non-

co-operators have absolutely failed to make any impression upon the Government. The Government has been pursuing a relentless policy of repression absolutely unmoved by the quiet and unresisting sufferings of the people. There has been no change of heart: this is really the meaning of Mr. Rajagopalachariar's lament. It only proves his innocence or to put it more euphemistically his great faith in *Satyagraha*. He forgets that the government in India is not a personal government. It is Government by machinery. Machines have no souls and are therefore not amenable to that soul force by which the *Satyagrahi* sets so much store. But the Government has not only been absolutely unmoved by the sufferings of the Non-co-operators, but the failure of Non-co-operation has immediately strengthened their position. While Non-co-operation is losing ground the Government has been gaining it in every province. There is not only a lull in the campaign but an undeniable reaction against it. Those who had been watching the progress of this campaign with more or less sympathetic interest during the last two years, have commenced to turn against it to-day. The intolerable tyranny of the Non-co-operators over those who could not see eye to eye with them, the open interference with the legitimate rights of individual citizens, the establishment of a system of checks or permits during *Hartals* without which no one could buy provisions from

the open market, the terrorism established in some places even in outlying villages in the name of the Congress and Khilafat, all these things have helped to alienate the sympathies of large numbers of people from the Non-co-operation movement. People are asking on all sides: What after all have we gained by these two years of suffering and sacrifice? A fatal despair has overtaken the multitudes who are more impressed to-day than they had been for many years past with the invincible might of the present British bureaucracy. The so-called constructive Bardoli programme has absolutely nothing in it that can be reasonably expected to revive the drooping spirit of the Nation. For the last two years, people have been fed upon successive doses of sensations, each succeeding dose being stronger than the preceding one. And the Bardoli programme is much too sober to suit the new habits created by the sensations of the last two years. The Khaddar campaign is failing on all sides while some people are using this campaign for personal profit, the masses find it increasingly difficult to buy Khaddar which sells on an average at Rs 5 to Rs. 6 a pair of Dhotis in preference to the imported fabrics that are selling at from Rs 3 to Rs 3-8 per pair. The Charkha movement, whatever it may show on paper, has also been a stupendous failure. The spinning wheels distributed by the Congress are in most parts of the country being stored away

by the people who find it more profitable to labour at other occupations than plying these machines. The same story comes from everywhere regarding the looms also. The weavers find it a waste of time and labour to weave the new home spun yarn. It may only be used on the wool not on the warp. As regards the Tilak Swarajya Fund, that also seems to have reached its utmost limits. People who contributed to it last year are asking for accounts and the impression is gaining ground on all sides that the crore of rupees collected last summer has been very largely wasted. There is an increasing disinclination therefore on the part of the public to renew their subscriptions to this fund. Courting imprisonment to kill the fear of British jails has also been completely played out. Those who have been to prison do not complain of their sufferings. They have cheerfully braved these. But it is difficult to believe that they do not feel to their heart of hearts the foolishness of the whole thing. It is infinitely easier to confess one's sins than to confess one's folly. But though we cannot expect any public confession of its failure there is absolutely no chance of a repetition of this game. The sentimental cry that the whole country being really a great prison house, it matters little whether one lives outside the gates of the British prisons or inside there will no longer go down either with the classes or with the masses. Political consciousness

and political life is practically dead in the country. Neither the Khaddar campaign nor the enlistment of members for the Congress, nor the reorganisation of the Congress Committees upon *Satyagraha* lines, nor the picketing of liquor-shops, nor any other item in the Bardoli programme, has any possibility of reviving it. The Non-co-operators themselves feel this, and they are therefore anxious to start a campaign of civil disobedience. It means in plain English that unless something very sensational is done, the movement will never revive. But even an attempt to start civil disobedience will not avail just now. In the first place, the Government will find it easy to crush it at its very inception. And in this they will have a substantial volume of public opinion at their back. The only part of the movement which is still growing strong, is that of the Khilafat, and the strength of the Khilafat comes from not any political inspiration but from its appeal to mediæval religious faith.

To sum up: The feverish activities of the last two years have induced a great lassitude and reaction in our political life. The Congress, as we knew it before the Mahatma's advent, is dead. The Government is getting stronger than ever. Nationalism as we have known it these seventeen years and of which Mr. Tilak was by far and above the most prominent and powerful leader, is also

practically dead. This is the present political situation in the country

And standing by Mr Tilak's ashes on the second anniversary of his ascension, I for one, feel far more strongly than I have ever felt before the supreme need of our going back to his ideals and reviving his policy made now thrice sacred to all his friends and followers by the memory of his death. In 1920 I had my little differences with him. We differed in the matter of the Reformed Councils. I was for downright opposition to the Government in the working of the new Government of India Act and for creating constant dead locks from within the Councils with a view to force an early amendment of the Act. Mr Tilak was for pursuing a policy of responsive co-operation. He was for co-operating with the Government in all matters in regard to which the Government would honestly respond to public opinion and for offering downright opposition to the Government in all matters in which they refused to submit to the opinion of the people. After the experience of the new Councils I frankly confess to-day that Mr Tilak's political instinct was far more correct than mine and the right policy for us Nationalists, to-day would be to take up his old cry of responsive co-operation as a counter blast to the wild unreasonable and intolerable tyranny of the present Non-co-operation campaign. I would not quarrel with

the Non-co-operation. I would want sincerely that they should work out their own policy according to their own lights. But I think all those who were associated with Mr. Tilak in carrying on the Nationalist movement for the last seventeen years should at this juncture rally round his name and his banner and pursue the line of policy which he had laid down during the closing days of his life. Unsatisfactory, inadequate and disappointing as the new Reforms have undoubtedly been, the new constitution of the Government in India offers however very large openings for Nationalist work. The Nationalists have so far kept themselves out of the new Councils. The Councils have been undoubtedly the weaker for this boycott. Yet the Government have not found it smooth sailing even with the present legislatures. The bureaucracy has been forced to come down from its high chair and seek the support of public opinion in many matters of vital importance. The ultimate decision rests no doubt in its hands, but precedents are being created every day which will be bound ultimately to expand the limits of popular freedom and develop a real democratic Government in the country. The Nationalists should therefore seek now to enter these Councils and direct and control the course of public policy from there. But the work inside the Councils must be supported by a vigorous agitation outside in the country. To this end there should

grow up vigorous Nationalist organisations in every legislative constituency, whose membership shall include not only the electors, but also of those who have not as yet got the franchise. These organisations should be the centre of political education and of all forms of self-reliant activities directed towards the solution of all local problems, whether they be problems of sanitation or industry or agriculture or other departments of the economic life. I am not aware of the present condition of the Congress Democratic Party started by Tilak a few months before he passed away. Loyalty to him demands renewed effort to revive and expand that great and promising party organisation. It was practically confined to Bombay during his life-time. But the time has come when it must be made an all India organisation with a network of affiliated and branch organisations covering the whole country from end to end built upon a truly federal basis. It need not be a rival to the Congress but should as its name implies combine and organise various Nationalist schools and activities in the country and bring the Nationalist thought into a focus inside the Congress itself. It may not be able just yet to influence the decisions of the Congress but will be able to do exceedingly valuable educational work both from within the National organisation and outside it. I hope and trust that Maharashtra at least will rise to a man to revive Mr. Tilak's policy resuscitate

his programme, and carry on his life-work, in the spirit of unflinching devotion and loyalty to his name and memory. This is the call that comes to all of us to-day from the other side of the grave. Shall we turn a deaf ear to it ?

PRESENT SITUATION

BY

(HON. MR. G. S. KHAPARDE, Amraoti).

The political situation to-day in India is more hopeful than it ever was since September, 1920. It would not be wise to recall all the events that happened since, and rake up old controversies that are happily dying out. Public memory, though usually short, may be expected to go back two years and on this assumption, one may proceed to briefly and even cursorily chalk out the line which, in one's opinion, would be of great benefit to the public at large and advance the cause of India, which all have at heart. Mr. Gangadharrao Deshpande on resuming the normal life of a citizen, said that he wished to bring about a reconciliation between those that advocate a change in the programme of the Congress and their opponents who do not wish to depart from it. He called a small committee for the purpose but so far nothing has come out of it. A few days ago, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*

published a very illuminating and thought provoking article in which it was maintained that given the common ground of advancing India's political interests all workers should have the liberty to pursue the end in their own way. To insist on identity of methods in working out a general ideal accepted by all is the surest mode of causing dissensions and practical politicians would do well to keep this constantly and prominently present to their mind. The immature and the ignorant are bound to commit indiscretions and nobody need be surprised that they did so and are responsible for a great deal of trouble which could easily have been avoided. There is no use crying over spilt milk and this aspect of the matter may therefore, be left alone for the future historian to take up but the present generation must learn the lesson that it never pays to surrender the land in matters of national concern to the young and the inexperienced. Their grievances and views must be listened to and carefully considered but the application of particular remedies must be decided on by those who by reason of education and training in the affairs of life patience and such wisdom as can be gathered by having passed through same or similar circumstances before have acquired the necessary qualification for pronouncing on matters of high importance. Applying these general principles and supplementing them with the wholesome rules found useful in

practice such as, of meeting at certain intervals taking counsel on facts then in existence and effecting no change without due discussion and wide consultation, the Tilak party may meet again, take stock of what is then left of it, and consider the programme framed by the late lamented Lokamanya for the Democratic party and endeavour to carry it out with such modifications as may be deemed necessary. By way of a beginning, the remnants in Maharashtra may be gathered together and then friends in other provinces gradually brought in, as they express their desire to join. As Maharashtra fills the eye of the public at the moment and is mentioned to be very anxious for such change as is in the air in a general way, the experiment may well begin with it, and representatives of the various centres in Marathi speaking portions of the Bombay presidency and Central Provinces and Berar may be called by a committee formed as an essential preliminary for the purpose. Reconciliation is so good that it deserves to be tried on all occasions but the main question should be of reconstruction and not reconciliation, and the chief object aimed should be a sound and well thought out programme and not the advantage of a ready made large following, though the last cannot be neglected in the long run. To start with a good nucleus of strong, staunch people is a source of great strength as the movement gains ground and increases in numbers.

Not to exercise powers of selection, when necessary and beginning the work with all and sundry is the fertile source of trouble and disunion leading to paralysis of all work. Of this the world had a bitter experience very lately

There is an organisation in a fair state of preservation known as the Tilak Swarajya Sangh. This will come of great use though it cannot take the place of the new body proposed because it has its traditions which may or may not lend themselves in the altered circumstances obtaining now to the kind of work that is in contemplation but if on further consideration it appears fit for taking up the new task it would be an advantage to merge the two together and start actual work under the old or a new name as appears expedient and proper

The arrangements of all details and their readjustment may involve some labour and considerable thought but would constitute a worthy move in the direction of the fulfilment of the last wishes of the illustrious departed in whose honour a special number of this journal is to be brought out. The political body which he desired to establish and for which he drafted a programme, did not meet in his lifetime. It held a sitting a few months after his demise and decided merely to support a movement that had then sprung tentatively into existence. So all the work of the institution contemplated by him remains so to say in abeyance and may be revived

on the day on which his numerous friends, admirers and followers would be thinking of him as it is believed, they always do, and would have their attention specially drawn to his beneficial and statesmanlike activities extending over a period of nearly thirty years and more. It will fill up a gap unhappily made by untoward circumstances. Other provinces may similarly begin work on their own account and in their own way, and if it prospers as it is bound to do if undertaken in right earnest, an amalgamation may later on be effected establishing a centre with flourishing branches all over India. They would be a fitting memorial of the life-work of one of the greatest sons of India.

SOME REMINISCENCES OF LOK TILAK

BY

(JAMNADAS M MEHTA, BAR-AT-LAW, Bombay)

Anniversaries of the departed great are very proper occasions for recalling to our minds their meritorious services and for renewing the acknowledgements of our eternal indebtedness to them. In the case of Lokamanya Tilak the nation has in a hundred ways and forms recorded its gratitude for him and his place in the hearts of his countrymen is firmly fixed for ever. We have during the last few days heard so much about his life and teachings

that I propose to confine myself to mentioning a few reminiscences I have of him which bring out prominently the dominant features of his political teachings. At the time of the Calcutta Congress of 1906 when the Anti Partition agitation was at its highest, Lokamanya Tilak addressed a meeting on the Beadon Square on the Swadeshi movement. The place was thoroughly crowded with the New Bengal that the partition had brought into existence a vast multitude listened with intense keenness to the great Nationalist leader. He spoke barely an hour in clear language in simple style and with his own directness of manner. He came straight to the point, economic theories were all right in their proper places but great movements he said really depended for their success on the spirit underlying them. The boycott of foreign cloth and the use of Swadeshi garment were mere manifestations of the larger movement of India for the Indians. Those who were satisfied with the domination of a few thousand aliens over thirty crores of human beings and were even grateful for it those who were praying for its performance and those who were blaspheming God by ascribing such topsyturvydom to his divine Providence were the speaker said incapable of understanding the true significance of the Swadeshi movement even if they were dressed in Swadeshi garb from top to toe. To grasp the real meaning of the movement was to be

dressed in Swadeshi clothing in the first instance, but they could not stop there; they ought to carry out the idea to its inevitable conclusion; to stand firmly on their own feet in every phase of their national life to labour for their salvation and not to delude themselves by believing that the bureaucracy inspired by altruistic feelings would, on some remote day, grant the boon of freedom to them. "Boons were for beggars," men could only earn their freedom, nations were by themselves made. At the end of the meeting, Bengalee after Bengalee came to the platform, prostrated himself at the feet of the great Guru and said that he had never heard before, so clear and cogent an exposition of Swadeshism and its deeper meaning.

He developed the idea further at Allahabad where he had made a brief halt and impressed on the minds of an enthusiastic audience the importance of self-help in the struggle for Swarajya. Recalling the simple saying "Heaven helps those who help themselves," he asked his hearers whether they considered the bureaucracy so powerful and beneficent that they would help India when Heaven itself would not; this had a tremendous effect on the meeting and to quote the words of a newspaper report "repeated rounds of delighted applause greeted this effective sally"

Self-help was the beginning and end of his political gospel. He exposed many shibboleths; he

demolished many dogmas he killed the feeling of helpless reliance on the philanthropic benevolence of our oppressors and brought into existence a rejuvenated India full of self confidence and determined to be free. He did his duty and was entitled to rest. The man who built the Taj is living in history the Master who built a nation cannot but live till the end of time

RESPONSIVE CO OPERATION

BY

(JOSEPH BAPTISTA BAR AT LAW, Bombay)

Lecky tells us that the enthusiasm which once produced conspicuous saints now produces conspicuous revolutionaries. This may be true of Europe but not of India. At all events religion and politics had equal attraction for Lokamanya Tilak. A saint is seldom a savant but Lokamanya Tilak was endowed with rare talents enriched by vast learning, the depth of which amazed even experts. As a political thinker and fighter Lokamanya Tilak remains unrivalled in India *facile princeps*. As an agitator he reminds me of Mazzini but he could combine the burning patriotism of the Italian Liberator with the practical sagacity of Cavour. This is evinced by the offer of responsive co-operation to

the King Emperor's proclamation and the formation of Congress Democratic party. The role of Mazzini had ended, the role of Cavour had commenced. While we bewail his untimely demise it is idle to speculate upon his probable achievements in constructive statesmanship. But he had clearly indicated his way to Swarajya. It was a path of peace and good will, through provincial autonomy to complete Swarajya, with all possible expedition, by all possible methods. To boycott the councils seemed to him to relinquish the captured stronghold without rhyme or reason after disabling the enemy. Certainly under Lokamanya Tilak's regime, the Khaddar and the Charakha would never have become the trusted Army and Navy of the people in the fight for Swarajya with the generals in jail. Verily the death of Lokamanya Tilak has proved a doleful disaster to Maharashtra and all India. The Guru is gone to Heaven and the Chelas have gone astray. But there is hope still, for subjection cannot be the destiny of this venerable and ancient land of the Aryans. Non-co-operation has not fulfilled its solemn promise. Let us try Lokamanya Tilak's responsive co-operation

LOKAMANYA—THE PROPHET OF DEMOCRACY

BY

(N V GADGIL, B.A., LL.B., Poona)

Two years have passed since the hand that guided the National politics is cold in death. Two eventful years, that have impressed their foot prints on the pages of history have seen the nation wide awake. The pathetic contentment of the masses is rudely disturbed. There is not a section of the public that has not felt the ennobling touch of the new impulse. There is not a single caste in the whole of the land that has not realised that its destiny is linked with National fortunes. Old landmarks in politics and in social matters have disappeared. Economics have earned a new meaning. The old angle of vision is changed and politics is not now for the few but it is for the many. It is no longer 'run' but it is lived. The press is there and with all its vituperation and vilification but there is a distinct change in it. The platform is there and as it is natural in democracy it is for the mediocrity. But the real politics is not to be found in the coteries or the clubs of the leaders, but in the silent determination of the masses to live up to the high principles of high priest of their destiny—and to live up with earnestness with sincerity, with faith which is childlike. How so many men and women largely emancipated from selfishness should

take up to a life of utter renunciation is a psychological phenomenon as deep as is ennobling. Nations do not change all of a sudden. The present change in India is not the work of a magic wand. We must look for its explanation deeper.

The proper study of history is possible when we group men and measures in epics and study them not as isolated incidents, but as the parts of a great drama enacted on the stage of history from generation to generation. Looked at, from this point of view, the life and work of Lokamanya is sure to be appreciated more and better. Inheriting all the traits and traditions of the Mahratta race and its past glory, Lokamanya stood pre-eminently as an herald at the cross currents of history. The pride of the fallen race and the prospect of the rising nation, both these found a repository in him. The consciousness that Maharashtra once ruled nearly the whole of India, gave all his efforts a touch of aristocratic hauteur, which was only softened by his democratic convictions in politics. Maharashtra has been asked not to look upon history as the repository of little deeds and to boss the Congress, but may we ask in all humility, who was it that first taught the nation, suffering? Was it not Lokamanya more than any one else that inoculated the closely ridden National Congress, with the democratic impulse? Did he not always say that the Congress was the distillery of national opinion?

It was he who tried to make the Congress a truly democratic body. It was he who raised considerably the dignity of the Congress. Old Congressmen who loved democracy only in words, seceded from the Congress as soon as it became democratic in fact. Lokamanya Tilak stood by it and had he been spared he would have guided its activities in more fruitful ways. By his political convictions and temperament he was essentially the first prophet of political democracy in India.

Like Napoleon Lokamanya was both the creature of the past and the creator of the future. If he was some time averse to social reforms it was due more to his political bias than his much misunderstood orthodoxy. Not that he did not appreciate the talk of social equality, but that all his energies were directed towards securing political equality without which National existence is intolerable. The spear head of all his activities had been politics and that too not for the aggrandisement of a few but for the happiness of all. He knew that economic salvation was impossible without political emancipation and if he did not care for social reforms it may be said his genius was not suited to it. He gave a political backbone to the people and made them feel that they had some place in the creation that they were not mere drawers of water and hewers of wood. The result of his teachings was men felt that they were political animals,

that they were more than mere 'Babus,' and 'Chaprasis' In other words, he prepared the National mind for a mighty effort for freedom. His suffering, his single-minded devotion to duty, his tenacity of purpose, his noble sacrifice—all went deep into the hearts of the people and roused them to action. He died at the height of his glory, but the work he began, thank God, is not given up. Mahatmajī has stepped into his place and the Nation is marching towards freedom with a steady pace. If Lokamanya was the prophet of political democracy, Mahatma Gandhi is the prophet of social democracy, and Khaddar is its living symbol. It is not that Mahatmajī is going to reduce all to one level of dead monotony, but he only wishes all to feel equal socially and as an earnest of it he insists on the use of Khaddar by rich and poor alike. Men like Lokamanya and Mahatmajī are born after ages, and if they take one another's work, it only shows the unity of history. What we humble men can do is to emulate their examples and each in his little sphere try to act up to some of their noble teachings—at least those which do not offend our so-called political faith!

THE NAPOLEON OF AGITATION

BY

(D V DIVEKAR B.A. Assistant Editor *Kesari*,
Poona.)

' A life of campaigning terrorism to which we know no parallel in constitutional history! This was how the *Times of India* summed up in its obituary note the career and the character of Lokamanya Tilak. And Sir Valentine Chirol dubbed him the Father of Indian Unrest. These expressions come from the pens of those who were and are the avowed foemen of Lokamanya Tilak and were undoubtedly intended to convey condemnation rather than praise. Yet by a curious irony of fate, the words contain one of the stubborn facts of his kaleidoscopic career. Little did the authors imagine that in trying to damn Lokamanya Tilak they were only bringing into strong and pointed relief the one outstanding truth which was his guide, philosopher and friend all his life through. This truth is agitation and no one—not even his staunchest comrades—could have described it better than when the *Times* called his life one of campaigning terrorism and Sir Valentine Chirol gave him the title of 'the Father of Indian Unrest. True the career of Lokamanya Tilak possessed as many and varied phases as the rainbow has hues to itself. But to one who analyses his life minutely with political

eye-glasses on, the aspect which strikes prominently, is that of his political agitation. He was an erudite person whom even the best of them could only barely hold the candle. He was a mathematician, he was a Sanskrit scholar, he was a researcher, he was a philosopher, he was a hundred many other things. Indeed, no subject did he handle but he mastered, as much as nothing did Goldsmith touch that he did not adorn. But above and beyond all that he was such a fierce campaigning political agitator that his enemies quailed before him and his friends and followers stood struck with reverential awe. Such, forsooth, was the Napoleon of agitation !

From the Crawford episode, when Lokamanya Tilak began slowly to unfold himself in his true colours, down to the proclamation of the Congress Democratic Party's Manifesto we observe his agitation gradually growing, ripple after ripple and wave after wave, transcending one border after another, till at last just before his death it overwhelmed the whole country in all quarters. When he once made a cause his own he, from his very nature, could not rest on his oars until either it was accomplished to his fullest satisfaction, or at least the farthest height of agitation was scaled. Just as a man climbing up a mountain-summit reaches one hill-top and there beholds a widened landscape stretching behind him and other hill-tops rearing up in front, so

Lokamanya Tilak trod beneath him the Crawford episode the Age of Consent Bill the Gaoesh and the Shivaji festivals-matters of more or less local or provincial significance—and in 1905 and onwards saw standing face to face with him the great agitation arising out of the Corzorian Tsardom. All India knows how on platform and in press he carried on, undaunted untired and unmatched the Swadeshi agitation for three years or so the terror of which raised a panic in official quarters and he was cooped up in Mandalay for half a dozen years.

Like a lion from the cage he came out shaking his manes in majestic grandeur and with all the redoubled force of his pent up energy. In 1914 the field of his agitation became much more extensive and the scope too expanded. With his deep penetrating eye he saw through the whole political situation of the country and having resolved upon his definite objective he plunged himself in such a vortex of agitation as must have cost off at least a few years of his life here below. The Home Rule League propaganda will really remain unparalleled in the political annals of India. After the exhaustion due to the seclusion of incarceration till he placed his foot on the deck Lokamanya Tilak was incessantly on his legs moving from town to town and village to village delivering lectures so many as five or six within twelve hours and carrying deep down to the masses the divine message of Swarajya.

People wondered, but he recked not for his bodily comfort and agitated!

The crown was placed on his thundering agitation—campaign in England where he caused a flutter even in English dovecotes. The fruits of that agitation were seen in the resolution of sympathy with India's cause passed by the annual Labour Party Conference. Well, that is not the whole story of his agitation. Had he been alive at the time of the elections to the new councils, we are perfectly sure that a repetition of the famous Midlothian campaign of Gladstone would have been made under Indian skies. But far be it from us to unnecessarily drag his spirit down from its hallowed sanctuary above!

Agitation was thus the very breath of his nostrils. It is this lesson of agitation that he has left us as a legacy which we must hold dear to our hearts and practise with his ruthlessness and fervour. No great reform or even a revolution has been achieved in history without roaring and campaigning agitation. Witness the history of England of the 19th century. The abolition of the Slave trade in 1807 and of slavery in 1833 was not accomplished without persistent agitation. The Catholic Emancipation Act of 1828 was not passed merely for a song. The Parliamentary Reform Act of 1832 required years of severe indomitable agitation. It was only after persevering agitation for a

quarter of a century that the Corn Laws of 1815 were wiped out from the Statute-book. Take the Irish disestablishment question or the land question we see nothing but agitation written on the foreheads of the movement. Or for the matter of that take even the French Revolution. Voltaire and Rousseau and a host of others had to convulse the whole country from end to end with agitation before the revolution burst up.

These then are the imperishable virtues of agitation. When comparatively simpler questions needed continuous agitation of such a type how much terribly more so must India need it for the attainment of Swarajya and that from the clutches of an alien bureaucracy! Lokamanya Tilak has taught us the lesson and those who proudly call themselves his pupils or followers must follow it to its letter and in its spirit, be it for the matter of entry into council or a change in the Congress programme or even the achievement of Swarajya. In politics the party which does not reply or responsively agitate is lost. On this second anniversary of Lokamanya Tilak's death let us remember the lesson of fierce and formidable agitation taught by him and hold its torch aloft till the ultimate goal is secured! Let us then by all means preach agitation and praise agitators. Happy the land which numbers many such amongst her children. Let every educated Indian resolve that he too will

become an agitator. It is not merely the right, it is the bounden duty of every patriot to rouse those of his countrymen who yet slumber and point them to the star of Liberty Agitate"! These are the words of Mr Bernard Houghton. Will India listen to them ?

TILAK-FOLLOWERS AND REVISION OF THE PROGRAMME

BY

(MR K. R. BODAS, B A., Bombay)

The Lokamanya fought throughout his life for the freedom of the Country or for Swarajya. All his invaluable gifts of head and heart, all-pervading intellect and genius, high patriotism and keen sense of observation etc were devoted solely to the welfare and service of the country. He placed before the country his methods and principles which were accepted and found to be invariably right and useful, for the last difficult and perplexing twenty five years and more. The best way of celebrating the anniversary or Jayanti of such a patriotic genius, scholar and specialist is to remember his ever true and ever useful methods and principles as reflected in his teachings and life and then to see how far we have brought them into practice or to see whether we have gained or lost if in the heat of passion and

sentiment we might have discarded them and preferred some other seemingly superior methods and principles.

Two years have nearly passed since the present movement was started in defiance of his experienced teachings. It was started as everybody knows, for winning Swarajya and thus get the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs redressed. Its charm and attractiveness lay in winning Swarajya within one year by general boycott of Government education, Law Courts, Councils, Foreign Cloth and Government Service, Civil or Military and by civil disobedience and non payment of taxes while non violence absolute and extreme was to be the uniting string of all of them. The time used for experimentation has far exceeded the time asked for success and experiment while the results achieved are far less than those promised and expected. Except perhaps in Swadeshi and unprofitable boycott of Councils, the movement has practically achieved nothing very significant, while Swarajya is as far away as before. The time and experience has shown that there is something wrong in the very fundamentals of the movement in spite of the fact that some of the leaders still pin their faith on civil disobedience and that the mass is apathetic to any change which is due to the want of wider outlook. The general tendency of the country seems to be to remain

satisfied with what little the movement will be able to do. It is a kind of mental inertia.

It is better to know once for all that the civil disobedience on the lines contemplated will require a number of years even for experimentation and that it will be one of the most delicate, difficult and dangerous tasks. It will be a waste of time if we were to spend all our energies on its preparation, leaving aside all other means and ways. It is possible and profitable to propose for civil disobedience even while the lawyers will practise in the Law Courts to fight out the injustice of Government and while the Nationalists will enter the Councils for preventing any mischief being done in the name of the elected representatives of the country. Not only this, but it will surely and positively aid the movement for final civil disobedience by giving constitutional backing to it when necessary.

The time is therefore ripe when a systematic move for the revision of the Congress programme be earnestly made on the lines laid down by the Lokamanya. The revision must naturally be in the direction of Responsive Co-operation policy of the Lokamanya which includes both co-operation and Non-co-operation as the circumstances demand. The monopoly of the Councils must not be given to the Moderates, but they must be captured by the Nationalists at least not to allow the repetition of bitter experiences.

Then secondly the ban on lawyers must be removed i.e., the suspending or giving up the practice must not be made a qualification for the executive offices in Congress organisations. Also the ban on defence must be removed and thus the Government should not be given the opportunity of finding out some excuse or other for 'poisoning' political workers undesirable from its point of view.

Thirdly, foreign propaganda must be undertaken to create sympathy, active and passive, for our causes in foreign countries and also to counteract the adverse propaganda by the enemies of our National Freedom which is being vigorously carried on in U S A as is clearly seen in the letter of Mr Gogate from America to the *Kesari* of the 11th of July.

Fourthly, the meaning of 'violence' must be confined to its legal limits and definitions thus making room for lawful self defence.

In short, we must fight this battle of Freedom on all sides and from all points at one and the same time.

The Maharashtra party has made the work of the Lokamnoya's followers in other provinces smooth and easy to a great extent by its continuous and ceaseless attempts in this direction from the very beginning of Non-co operation. It has come out of the ordeal of vilification and misrepresentation,

honourable and successful. Now, it only remains that the followers of the Lokamanya in other provinces should, of their own accord, join hands with the Maharashtra party without further delay. The Maharashtra party is working largely for their support and earnestly calls upon all its brothers in other provinces, who take delight in being the followers of the Lokamanya, to give it a helping hand to carry forward the banner of their Guru—the Lokamanya, and thus to bring his ideal of Swarajya, or establishment of Home Rule in India, into actual existence as early as possible. Upon their support and help depends the success of the Maharashtra party and that of immediate establishment of Swarajya—the ideal of their Guru. The Maharashtra party feels certain that the majority of the people in Maharashtra are the followers of the Lokamanya, and, therefore, appeals to all of them to join it and thus make its work easy and effective. And lastly, we, the followers of Tilak all over the country, should always remember, and act up to, the well-known saying, “United we stand, divided we fall.” We shall therefore succeed only if we put together the strength of all of us in the whole country and then carry on the propaganda.

BOYCOTT OF COUNCILS

BY

(R N MANDALIK, B A., Assistant Editor
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The latter day votaries of the boycott of councils have discovered new and fanciful evils in the Reform Act and are vehemently preaching that entry into council is not only not likely to lead on to Swarajya but will actually retard our progress towards it. The Act was passed in 1919 and the Amritsar Congress on Mahatma's initiative and after fullest deliberation resolved that 'so far as may be possible they will work the Reforms so as to secure an early establishment of full responsible Government. In the same Congress Lokamanya Tilak also declared that 'we are going to take the fullest advantage of the Reforms. Are the present day critics of councils prepared to maintain that they are wiser than Lokamanya Tilak, Mahatma Gandhi and the Amritsar Congress all put together? Mahatma Gandhi's present objection to the entry into the councils is on the ground of Non-co operation and not on any fanciful evils newly discovered in the Reform Act. By "inexorable logic" Mahatma at Amritsar proved that the Reforms can be used as a stepping stone to full responsible Government. I think the same 'inexorable logic' holds good also in 1922 and the critics of councils would do well to bear the same in mind.

These critics are now-a-days arguing that Congressmen should not enter the councils for the simple reason that they will not be able to secure a majority and thus organise effective obstruction in them. I have to remind those critics that at least that was not Mahatma Gandhi's view; for in his speech at the special session of the Congress at Calcutta he has said as follows:—"Seeing that there is greater scope for obstruction as we can command a majority by influencing the votes, which too I admit, we may be able, by going to the councils, to paralyse the Government or the administration as the case may be." When Mahatma himself has thus admitted the possibility of paralysing the administration through the councils by means of the majority, the Congressmen were in his opinion sure to command in them, I am at a loss to understand how his ardent followers can plead otherwise. Besides, their argument means that the Congress does not command the allegiance of the majority in India. Are they ready to make that admission?

It need hardly be said that Lokamanya Tilak's doctrine of Responsive co-operation advocates entry into the council. At Amritsar Lokamanya Tilak advocated entry into the councils and on his return from there he made vigorous preparation for the election campaign by organising the Congress Democratic party. To Mahatma Gandhi who saw

him just two weeks before his demise at Sardar-Griha Lokamanya Tilak is reported to have said : " I personally believe that it will be better to go to the councils and obstruct when it was necessary and to co-operate where also it was necessary " These words are clear and emphatic Lokamanya Tilak believed that it was better to go to the Councils and offer Responsive co-operation there. The policy of Responsive co-operation was to be acted upon after entering into councils according to necessity It had no reference to the question of advisability or otherwise of entering into the councils for he had made up his mind on that point and had come to the conclusion as late as July, 1920 that it was better to go to the Councils The treaty of Sevres had then taken place the prospects of the Khilafat were darkest at the moment and there was not a tittle of evidence for India to think that our mentors in England were in a mood to conciliate us The arrogance of Downing Street as disclosed by the Treaty of Sevres was even of worse type than the arrogance of the India Office disclosed in the recent speeches of Earl Winterton Yet taking all these facts into consideration Lokamanya Tilak declared in July 1920 that it was better to go into the councils and co-operate or obstruct as it was necessary An argument is advanced that if now living, even the father of the doctrine of Responsive co-operation would have advised boycott of councils at the

present moment since there was no response in the government which should incline the people to join the Councils and offer co-operation. I have shown above that the argument is not tenable. It is not true that the advocates of entry into the council want to enter the councils to co-operate with the Government. They will co-operate or obstruct as may be necessary and if Government is not in a mood at present to respond to the just aspirations of the people nothing but stern obstruction from the councillors will be their lot. I am not unmindful of the compact Lokamanya Tilak entered into with Maulana Shaukat Ali not to enter into the councils if Mahomedans resolved to boycott them. But when we are considering the question of the entry into the councils on its merits this compact need not be taken into account. It is idle to speculate on what would have happened if Lokamanya Tilak would have been living at the time of the Calcutta Congress. But Lokamanya's words quoted in the foregoing paragraph hardly leave any doubt that after considering the question on its own merits Lokamanya Tilak came to the conclusion that it was better to go to the Councils and obstruct or co-operate as was necessary.

Even supposing that Non-co-operators are not able to command majority in the councils I see no harm in their being there to cause annoyance and embarrassment to the bureaucracy and to make their

life miserable. Even a servant in the household can make the life of the members in the house miserable when he is in an angry mood. What a petty servant in the household can do cannot a few able councillors accomplish? Besides if they are not able to do any good, is there any fear of their doing any harm? I see none whatever.

There are many petty grievances of the people which can be redressed by the work of the councils. In the eyes of big politicians these ordinary grievances of the masses may not be of much importance but in the eyes of the sufferers themselves their redress has immense value. Notwithstanding the command of the Congress not to use the councils for the redress of their grievances, we see that they are amply used for the purpose even by Congressmen. If such are the facts why continue the boycott and unnecessarily give credit to Moderates and others for redressing people's grievances?

Some people say that if our workers go to the councils the work outside the councils will suffer. I do not see why it should so suffer. The councillors will have to work and move among their electorate and therefore the work outside the councils is not at all likely to suffer but on the other hand it is likely to gain much more in quality and intensity. Proximity of workers also need not be pleaded against entry into council for a district can certainly spare

a man or two for council work, and more are not needed under the Reforms Act.

In spite of what Maulana Shaukat Ali had stated it was found in the elections, at least in this presidency and particularly in Sind, that the competition among the Mahomedan candidates for the council was very keen. None of the council seats either Mahomedan or Non-Mahomedan remained vacant after the election. Thus the boycott was practically frustrated and the bureaucracy was able to boast that they governed India with the consent and help of the people's chosen representatives. Besides, by asking Congressmen to boycott the councils the Congress gave an opportunity to Moderates to make an alliance with the bureaucracy for their self-aggrandisement and to the great detriment of the country. If for nothing else at least to save the country from the mischievous alliance of the Moderates with the bureaucracy the ban against the councils should be withdrawn. In Mahatmaji's opinion the withdrawal of the triple-boycott from the Non-co-operation programme means abandonment of the Non-co-operation movement. I see no reason why it should be so. The triple-boycott was only an item in the programme and we are entitled to change the same if it is not found suitable for our purpose. But if the triple-boycott is the pivot on which the whole movement is to revolve I have to confess that even then the boycott has to

be withdrawn to the best interests of the country. Capturing of the Municipalities and the Local Boards has been sanctioned by Mahatmaji for Non-co operators. If entering into the Municipalities and the Local Boards is not opposed to Non-co operation why entering into the councils alone should be so considered, is beyond my comprehension. If a clear definition of Non-co-operation will be supplied by the Congress Congressmen will feel much obliged to it.

If the country fights the bureaucracy with its own weapons inside and outside the council the movement for the attainment of Swarajya and the redress of the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs shall certainly be more effective than it is at present. There are men of different temperaments in this world and there should be scope for all of them to serve the country through the Congress provided they accept its creed.

BOYCOTT OF COUNCILS—LOKAMANYA TILAK MISREPRESENTED

BY

(DR. V. M. BHAT, B.A. M.B.B.S., Poona)

Being one of those who were privileged to be with the late Lokamanya Tilak for the last six

years of his life, I know some of the incidents more vividly than many of my contemporaries, and I am thus enabled to throw some light on some of the leading problems of the day. Mahatma Gandhi had just launched his programme of Non-co-operation when Lokamanya's career was drawing to its close; and one fine night, before the final illness had made its ravages upon Lokamanya Tilak's body, Mahatma Gandhi had come to Sardar-Griha with Maulana Shaukat Ali to discuss with him the new programme of Non-co-operation. Lokamanya Tilak had, before this incident, declared his firm resolve to capture the Legislatures, and had already ordered his lieutenants to stand as candidates for the seats. This was in direct conflict with the Mahatma's idea of boycotting the councils, and the Mahatma was therefore naturally anxious to avoid the conflict if he could. It was for this purpose he had come to the Lokamanya. Fortunately, I was present then and I know full well what the Lokamanya had said on the burning question of the boycott of councils. I remember as clearly as anything that he was *against* the proposed boycott of councils. He flatly told the Mahatma that if his men did not go into the councils, others, of lesser calibre and courage, would go in, and the Reformed Councils would be used as engines against them. Maulana Shaükat Ali then tried to assure the Lokamanya that he would see that no Mahomedans

would contest any seat. Of course Lokamanya could not believe in this, but he assured Maulana Shaikat Ali that if he saw that the Mahomedan seats were not contested *then and then only* he would order his Hindu Nationalist candidates to withdraw from the elections, *and not till then*. The Mahatma and Maulana Shaikat Ali at that time were too sure about their followers, and they perhaps then had really believed that the seats would go begging. They therefore agreed to his condition. But unfortunately for them the facts proved otherwise and that too exactly as Lokamanya Tilak had predicted. He had rightly believed that the seats would not only not go vacant, but would be contested, and it was therefore absolutely necessary that the Nationalists should enter the lists and capture them. Of course, he was not of opinion that any wonders could be wrought there. But he firmly believed that Legislature was *one* of the battle fields where the bureaucracy could be effectively hemmed in, balked, teased, troubled, defeated and obstructed in its path. To say the least, therefore the councils stood in his opinion on a par with any other fields of agitation. And ever and above this, he believed that not only they *could not be worked against us* if the Nationalists captured them but perhaps they could be worked to our advantage sometimes. That was clearly his opinion and he had made no secret of it. On the contrary,

he had clearly said in the Congress Democratic Party's manifesto that he "would try the reforms for all they were worth." That obviously meant capturing the councils, and he stuck to his opinion till his last.

I know this incident has been misrepresented, and attempts have been made to show that the Lokamanya had approved of the boycott of councils. I emphatically deny it. Let the council-boycott stand or fall on its own merits, but let not Lokamanya's name be falsely exploited to buttress what, in my opinion, is a tottering edifice. If this boycott is to stand, it will stand in spite of the Lokamanya's opposition to it. If it is to fall, it will fall, Lokamanya and the Mahatma notwithstanding. Truth stands on its own strength, it shines in its own light.

But I would like to say a few words on this topic before I finish. As stated before, the Council Chamber is one of the fields where we can, if in a majority, give a "knock-out blow" to our opponents. I think no sane man can deny this. Of course, it must be plainly stated that when I say that we should go there, if we can be in a majority. Times without number we have said, and even shown, that the majority of voters are on our side. If this is true, then I am sure we can have our own majority. There, Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyengar missed, and still

misses this point. When he had been to Poona, and was eloquently showing the futility of councils, I brought home this point to him, and he had to admit it. And he plainly said, that if any province was sure of having a Nationalist majority, it was its duty to capture that council. Much has been made of Mr Aiyangar's opinion on councils, and less or nothing has been said of his opinion on the real issue. I thought it therefore to point this out to my friends and not to misjudge Mr Aiyangar on the point at issue.

Secondly to support this boycott much fuss has been made about some Moderates advertising their failure in the councils. But the reasons of their failure are patent. One, they are not a homogeneous majority and the other, they are there for co-operation. In their zeal for the latter they have, like the proverbial beast of burden, ungrudgingly allowed the bureaucracy in the saddle. Now they cannot groan to any good purpose. Had the Nationalists been there they would have remained there in a strong and homogeneous majority and they would have been there not for co-operation but for opposition. The instance of the Moderates' failure is thus not on all fours with the contention of the Nationalists and it thus falls to the ground.

The next point is absolutely clear. Much harm has been done by the Government's sycophants

entering the councils. New taxation of crores of rupees has been added, and hundreds of thousands of rupees have been spent against the will of the people in such pompous shams as the Prince's and the Duke's receptions. Moderate Ministers have also given unstinted support to the policy of repression. Could not have all this been avoided by the Nationalists—Nationalists, pledged to oppose and obstruct the Government?

That some good can be done by a minister, has been shown by Mr. Kelkar, Minister of education, Central Provinces. What he has done and more can certainly be done by any Nationalist Minister. I think, a Nationalist Minister of education, backed by a strong Nationalist majority, can certainly introduce many of the reforms in education suggested by the National educationists.

I have thus shown briefly that Lokamanya's opinion about entering into the councils was perfectly sound. And as a humble follower of his, I still adhere to that opinion. Is it much if I expect those who worship at his shrine to stick still to it?

LOKAMANYA TILAK.

Mr. T. V. Venkatarama Iyer, B.A., B.L., Zamindar, and leader of the Nellore Bar, writes:—

A great soul has gone. India is poorer to-day than she ever was. Lokamanya Tilak was a name

to coojore with. Not ooly in the Maharashtra conotry hot io many places in the north Lokamaoya Tilak was worshipped as a God. The coothnsiasam with which he was greeted to whatever part of India he happoed to go was something extraordinary and ooe ofteo wondered as to what inspired the love and reverence which people felt for the great Maharatta Brahmin who had just passed away.

The first time that I met Mr Tilak was at Surat. Dr Rash Behari Ghose had been elected as President of the Coogress. Mr Tilak's adherents had sooght to secure the place for their leader bot had beeo foiled in their attempts. They threatened to wreck the Coogress and it was thought incumbent that those who were pledged to support the national assembly and to nphold its dignity should assemble in large numbers at Surat to prevent any obstructiooist tactics on the part of Mr Tilak's fol lowers. The late Mr Krishnasawmy Iyer was the foremost leader of the Coogress party theo in Mad ras. At his earnest request the Modras presidency as o whole ood every district therein sent a very large contingent of delegates to atteod the Coogress session at Surat. When the Coogress assembled it was found that onr party the coostitntional party ontonumbered Tilak's followers by four to one. It is not necessary to refer to what happened. Mr Ghose's name was proposed for presidentship. It

was opposed by Mr. Tilak's followers and amidst an unforgettable scene of confusion, not altogether unattended with force and violence, the Congress assembly broke up. The scene is still vivid in my eyes, as vivid as it was thirteen years ago. We had all met there with a prejudice against Mr. Tilak, but when in an assembly consisting of nearly four thousand people (delegates and visitors included) a short pale-faced man, dressed in pure white, with the usual Maharatta turban on his head and with an angavastram round his shoulders, appeared the assembly rose as one man and cheered and cheered till it made itself hoarse. It was an unconscious tribute to personal worth, a homage to the sterling virtues of honesty, and independence uncontaminated by any considerations of political or social creeds. That such a person should have attempted or should have been privy to an attempt to break up an assembly in which all of us put our faith seemed to us then wholly unintelligible but subsequent events conclusively showed that Mr. Tilak was a true patriot, that his action was in the best interests of the country and that we were entirely wrong in sticking to old shibboleths and ejecting him from the Congress fold.

Till the Congress met at Surat, there were no two parties in the great National assemblage. Ever since its inception, the congress had placed great faith in the inherent justice of the British rule, in

the impartiality and fair mindedness of the Indian Government and in its anxiety to do justice when constitutionally appealed to. It was Lord Curzon who gave a rude shake to these old time beliefs. His advent as Viceroy was one of the greatest events in the history of this country and his unwise action in partitioning Bengal led to results which in the course of a few years made Indians realise the position in which they were placed and laid the first stone, out of which the great fabric of Indian Nationhood was eventually to rise.

The year 1907 marked an epoch in the history of this land. The partition of Bengal had unsettled men's minds. The rumblings of a yet far off earthquake were being distinctly felt and Lord Minto who had succeeded to the heavy legacy which Lord Curzon had left, with the brutal obstinacy which we now so well know to connect with the British temperament took steps to put down what he thought was incipient rebellion. The first scene opened with the deportations of Mr Lala Lajpat Rai and Pandit Ajit Singh. Then came the ordinance against public meetings the Press prosecutions in the Punjab and Bengal and the final enactment into law of what is now known as the Seditious Meetings Act. Then the storm burst. The Bengalees raised such a hue and cry as had never before been heard of in this country. Organised crime became the order of the day. Political assassinations failed

to become objects of condemnation. Government's policy of repression produced little or no effect and every European in Bengal felt he carried his life in his hands.

No wonder that in these circumstances a party should spring up which put no faith in the justice of the British rule and was determined on winning Swaraj by persistent and relentless fight against the bureaucracy. Swaraj, Swadesism and boycott of British goods was in every body's mouth and a great leader was wanted who would lead young India to realise its manhood. It was then that Mr. Tilak took the lead and the fight between him and the old Congress leaders was not so much a fight between men as a fight between ideals.

How Mr. Tilak failed in his first attempts, how the bureaucracy punished him for his outspoken criticism of British rule, how he suffered again and again for the country's cause and how the few followers he once had grew into a whole nation are all matters of history.

Let us go back for a moment to the Congress camp at Surat. In a bracing climate not so cold as that of Allahabad, nor so mild as that of Bombay, hundreds of tents had been fixed for the delegates' use. Here Congressmen and Tilakites both mixed together and freely discussed the distressing events of the year. Though negotiations between the two

parties failed there was no personal ill will between them. In one thing all were agreed that the country's cause was wholly in the hands of Providence and it was to God that the prayers of all went up.

It was Mr. Tilak's followers who set up Bhajana parties in the Congress camp. Just before dawn, in the hour most holy to the goddess Usha's melodious songs descriptive of Rama's love and Krishna's youth mingled with invocations to Mother India. It was then for the first time that I heard Bankim Chandra's *Bande Mataram* song and the music of the piece coupled with the hour in which and the persons by which it was sung, made a deep impression upon all who had met together in the Congress camp and made them realise that country was above creed and that in self sacrifice lay the true foundation of national glory.

Self sacrifice—not the self sacrifice which you can boast of and which is done for purposes of advertisement but true self sacrifice sincerely and unostentatiously done, done from conviction, not with a view to profit. Mr. Tilak was the first apostle of the creed and his life was wholly a life of self sacrifice full of sufferings in the cause of his country and actuated only by a dim ray of hope that a New India might spring up from the ashes of the old a New India which values self respect,

which will stand up for its manhood, give up lethargy and emancipate itself from trammels which had so long curbed its free movements.

A great leader has gone—I was about to say almost the greatest leader India has known in recent years. Bombay has, within the last quarter of a century, produced three leaders of eminence—Gokhale, Gandhi and Tilak. Each stands on a platform of his own. Gokhale captivated the hearts of the educated classes alone but Gandhi's and Tilak's hold was mostly on the masses. Gandhi's is a spiritual force and inculcates suffering as the best way of achieving success. Mr Tilak, on the other hand, was a fighter—a fighter from the beginning. In fighting for the country's cause he never swerved from the path he had chalked out for himself. He was a soldier and as a great soldier he departed this life.

There is something pathetic in the description of the last moments of the great leader. Mr. Tilak was conscious that the near future was full of troubles and that it required all a man's courage and all a man's patience to weather through the storm into which we had drifted. Perhaps he felt the country could ill afford to lose any worker much less a worker of his eminence. The words of Sri Krishna that he will appear again and again when needed is the message which the dying man left to his countrymen. Trust in God, place your faith

implicitly in Him and the country will never suffer. From out of the Unknown and Unknowable will spring up some one who will take up the broken threads and lead us on to the path which will give us peace, contentment and happiness.

MR. TILAK'S WORK IN ENGLAND

St. Nihal Singh wrote in the *Bombay Chronicle*

India has lost in Lokamanya Tilak, a leader who was a rock of refuge for the weak, and the visionary—the old politicians who had forgotten everything and the young enthusiasts who thought they knew all secrets—a leader distinguished from those who could find a hundred apologies for opposing him obstructing his work defeating his purpose, by an unapproachable sense of reality. He would listen quietly to the weavers of dreams, to the enthusiasts overreaching themselves to the opponents misunderstanding him but he would come back from the dreams the enthusiasms the misunderstandings to the hard realities of the immediate problem. Lokamanya Tilak was not a visionary except in the sense of possessing a steadfast vision. He was essentially a practical politician a great fighter, not baffled by defeat and not lost in moment of his success.

THE CHIROL CASE.

When he reached London to prosecute his case for libel against Sir Valentine Chirol we all thought

hearing When the time came he was invited to offer his evidence, but that was all It is a fact worth nothing that although every witness examined by the Joint Committee was examined mildly or virulently as the case may have been, Lokamanya Tilak surely the most important witness from India, was heard in rapt silence and dismissed without a question It is obvious that the Congress Deputation headed by him liberalised the reactionary findings of the Committee to a certain extent and all honour is due to the leader who steered the Deputation with so much skill through the labyrinths of English political life.

BRITISH CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

In the meantime Lokamanya Tilak was fighting his first fight in England Curiously enough it was waged against the so-called British Congress Committee which in its complexion and habit of mind was representing neither the British side of the question nor that of the Congress It was indeed a strange event that a Committee representing the Congress subsidised by the Congress morally supported by the Congress should fail so signally to carry out the policy enunciated by the Congress Lokamanya Tilak saw the danger to his work unless he took drastic measures to alter the status quo The change was brought about in the end after conferences with the Moderates and conferences with the Extremists resulting in Dr B G Clark

and Dr. V. J. Rutherford, joining the Congress Deputation, handing over control of the office and of the weekly *India*; and the rest joining either Mrs. Besant or the Moderates. The charge of the weekly was given over to Mr. N. C. Kelkar and later to Miss Helena Normanton. With Mr. B. G. Horniman flitting in and out of the Henrietta Street office it was a certainty that the journal would be a thundering success.

CAMPAIGN FOR SELF-DETERMINATION.

But no sooner had this difficulty been overcome when news came in reply to Lokamanya Tilak's memorial to Allied statesmen assembled at Versailles, rejecting his appeal to be heard on behalf of the people of India. However his written statement had been forwarded to President Wilson and there the matter rested. Meanwhile a strong campaign was launched in the country for the application of the principle of self-determination to India. Meetings were organised in all the big industrial towns and the movement gained strength from the adherence of the young Indians in England.

THE PUNJAB NEWS.

But when everything seemed to be marching peacefully the thunder-clap of the Punjab tragedy burst upon the Deputation making all other work indifferent except that of staunching this new wound. Lokamanya Tilak was not slow to realise

that the only party which would be willing to co-operate whole-heartedly with the cause of bleeding humanity would be the Labour Party. Accordingly authority was sought from the May Day Committee for permission to address the workers assembled in Hyde Park on the 1st of May 1919. Unfortunately Lokamanya Tilak, having sprained his ankle by slipping on the snow covered pavement outside his residence in 10 Howley Place, Maida Vale, was unable to be present, but nevertheless at every one of the eleven platforms the following emergency resolution was passed with enthusiasm by nearly two hundred thousand workers —

‘ Resolved that this meeting calls upon the advisers to the Crown to recommend the immediate disallowance of the Rowlatt Act which imposes upon the Indian people methods of despotic government by making D O R. A perpetual in peace time condemns the bombing and shooting of unarmed men and women and demands the immediate reform of the Government of India giving to the people of India the full right to govern themselves.

On the same day twenty thousand handbills signed by three of the foremost Labour leaders of Great Britain—Robert Williams, George Lansbury and Robert Smillie were distributed in the streets of London. Henceforth there was no peace for the

Deputation now reinforced by the arrival of Messrs Madhava Rao and Satyamurti and Bepin Chandra Pal. Here are notes from the press evidencing the great leader's activities : " Meetings will take place in Birmingham, Bradford, Bristol, Cardiff, Glasgow, Leicester, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle, Sheffield and Southampton. . . . Mr. B. G. Tilak addressed a large meeting at Glasgow in connection with the Labour Conference. He dwelt on the labour conditions in India and the necessity of political reforms as the only thing that would enable the Indian people to improve their labour conditions " And added to the burden of addressing huge meetings all over the country was the delicate task of holding private conferences with the leaders of political parties in England, of fighting the insidious propaganda of the reactionaries and of keeping a public puzzled by the divergent news expressed by the Moderates on the one side and Mrs. Besant on the other, in continual possession of the real facts affecting the position in India

HIS DIFFICULTIES.

Two incidents will illustrate the difficulties this great fighter had to encounter in the pursuit of his propaganda. One of the most important events in English politics in these days is the holding of the Trade Union Congress. Permission was sought by Lokamanya Tilak to address the delegates representing over six million workers. At the same time-

Mr B P Wadia sought permission to attend as a fraternal delegate. Mr Wadia representing a few thousand organised workers in Madras obtained a hearing but Lokamanya Tilak representing the millions of India was given a refusal on the plea that he was not a Labourite representing Labour. Naturally this did not mend matters with Mrs Besant and the split between the two leaders is now a matter of history. It is necessary to refer to it in order to estimate the real worth of Lokamanya Tilak's work. It is on record that soon after Mrs. Besant's arrival in England a tea party was given by the London Indian Association at which Lokamanya Tilak held out a hand of friendship to all secessionists. But subsequent events have shown that that offer was not accepted. Nay even on the question of the Poojah tragedy every approach made to the Moderate leaders then in England was ignored.

LOKAMANYA TILAK AND MRS BESANT

No doubt with Mrs. Besant it was different. She did not let the grass grow under her feet but took measures to organise meetings in the country and to start a weekly of her own. To sum up her propaganda she called a conference at Steinway Hall at which a certain resolution accepting Mr Montagu's Bill and welcoming his efforts was going to be proposed. Lokamanya Tilak wrote protesting

against this and before the speeches began Mrs. Besant discreetly withdrew the offending resolution. A final attempt was made by Mrs. Besant to get all the parties together on the common platform of a general resolution claiming self-determination for India ; and the part played by Lokamanya Tilak on this memorable occasion is worthy of long remembrance as a sign of the keen vigilance displayed by him in defending his people's rights. The resolution as originally drafted contained a clause similar to the one proposed at Steinway Hall. Lokamanya Tilak wrote protesting against this. The result was the substitution—it is said at the instance of Mr. George Lansbury—of a general resolution demanding the application of the principle of self-determination to India. Young India in England thought that the Great Leader should not attend the proposed meeting in Albert Hall on October 25, 1919. But he, full of good humour and good sense, realised that it was difficult for any one to put an astute politician of his standing in a false position. Nevertheless Mr B. G. Horniman drew up an addendum to the resolution in order to test the willingness of the conveners to abide by the full import of their words—and this addendum, which has been the cause of so much controversy, we make public for the first time. The addendum was in two parts:—

“That in view of the fact that the Bill now before Parliament does not comply with the above

the principle (of self determination) this meeting asks for its rejection and for the substitution in its stead of another Bill in conformity with the wishes of the people of India. Lokamanya Tilak did not fully realise, as he confessed afterwards that this addendum was in two parts and thinking it merely asked for the rejection of the Montagu Bill rightly stood out against it. However Mr Ben Spoor, who was in the chair after refusing to put the addendum to the vote, was reluctantly compelled to read it to a clamorous audience and the meeting ended after a great deal of disorder. An incident will illustrate Lokamanya Tilak's amazing method of winning over an audience. When it was so doubtful whether the Albert Hall audience was in favour of the resolution or not Lokamanya Tilak himself in favour of it rose and asked—"Is there any one here who objects to the principle of self-determination?" The reply was a terrific 'No'! "Well then" he added 'You have agreed to the resolution and the audience realising that it had been sold dissolved in peals of laughter.

LOKAMANYA TILAK ON NON CO OPERATION

Two more meetings of importance and the schedule of Lokamanya Tilak's activities is closed. The first was momentous for the reason that it was presided over by Bernard Shaw—the high Priest among the Intellectuals of Europe. The second

APPENDIX C.

in the Punjab. A resolution was in connection with Martial Law in Mr. Hasan Imam was in the chair. A resolution was moved on the lines of non-co-operation suggesting that the leaders should refuse to associate themselves with Mr. Montagu's Reform Scheme, unless the wrong-doers of the Punjab were tried and punished. Lokamanya Tilak opposed the resolution : " In doing so he said it was easy to speak like that in London. Let the supporters of it go to India and lead the movement if they chose ; and he himself would assist them. But the resolution would place the people in a false position. The people were like an army and they must like an army move together." The resolution was passed.

This sums up the great man's career in England. What he achieved time alone will show. But it is enough for those who mourn his loss to know that he was the greatest ambassador India has yet sent out beyond her shores. When he left Tilbury on November 7, 1919, he took with him the love and admiration of thousands of Britishers who must mourn him as much as we his countrymen for whom the most brilliant star in the firmament has fallen and left behind a sense of a great darkness and a great foreboding.

MR. B. P. WADIA ON MR. TILAK. But I am very sorry to be late this afternoon. But I did not know that a meeting was to take place here which we are here. It is really a great occasion on which

gathered here. The passing away of Lokamanya Tilak is a great event in national history because he was one of those few men who set the example to his countrymen in the matter of suffering for the motherland. It is very necessary for us on an occasion like this to think of the great man who has left this visible world but it is also necessary for us to remember that from the invisible world he is guiding the work of his countrymen who are working for the social and political emancipation of the motherland. And therefore it is necessary not only to hold the memory of Lokamanya Tilak sacred, but to try to follow his example in our daily life. We the children of India are deeply mourning the passing away of Lokamanya Tilak. But there are few people who belong to his own family who feel his loss to the greatest extent. I propose that you who are assembled here should authorise your President to send a message of comfort and condolence to his son. (Cheers)

MR. TILAK—'A TRUE PATRIOT'

The Bombay correspondent of *Capital* writes:—

The death of Mr Tilak has deeply affected the masses of Bombay and the demonstrations of

sorrow at his funeral have been without parallel in this presidency. Any one who attempts a critical estimate of the career must do so with diffidence. At one end he was condemned by some of his contemporaries as a conscious inciter of crime and treason who deftly evaded the moral consequences of his acts. At the other, he was adored as a patriot with an unfulfilled destiny. That he was a man among men, with a towering personality, and capable of a career more spectacular and useful than what he achieved, no one will deny. A profound Vedic scholar, he first made his mark as an educationist in the Deccan and soon achieved a European reputation by his theses on the origin of the Vedas. If he had remained as a scholar he could have accomplished results of the first magnitude. In politics his life was one of storm and opposition, but he was willing throughout to bear the consequences of his acts, and almost under their impulsive force, he evolved a school of political negation, popularised by nothing save his own courage and disdain of material ends. If ever a man had a dual personality, it was he. In private life his words did not bear the slightest semblance of ambiguity ; his word was his bond. Politics he avowed as a game of subtlety and manouvres, and negotiators could never see the whole of his hand. Much has been written about his compliance with orthodoxy even when it was wedded to unreason. I myself think

that he was by conviction a rigid rationalist who could distinguish between the useful and the deceptive. His intellect and perceptions were of the order of Mr Herbert Spencer. At the time of Mr Spencer's death Mr Tilak wrote an analysis of his teachings and a scholar of judgment once told me that a more searching study of the philosopher was never written by any of his contemporaries. Mr Tilak was not the dupe of orthodoxy and I think he could have excelled in any career except that of a religious leader. He never could quarrel with orthodoxy.

I have often wondered how his career might have been altered if he had lived in Britain five years before his plunge into life. His last visit to Britain had visibly altered his outlook of practical politics and hard as it was for life—long views to be worn down by late experiences there was a certain mellowness of thought distinguishing him from the mixed following of hiensteants who lived in his shelter and on his reputation. He himself was perfectly selfless, if we grant that avarice of power is not necessarily selfish. I am not prepared to say that he has not left an amount of obiding good, beside the wreck of his ancient fends. There were certainly epochs of thought in his personal biography and I think that to the zenith of his power the fervour of his Hindu particularism began to cool and blend with the more catholic tendencies of his

time and country. He had an infinitely greater claim to be in politics and deal with men and women than Mr. Gandhi, and we have missed a Homeric struggle between them for the allegiance of the masses. In some respects, Mr. Tilak, was the Parnell of *Indian Nationalism*, and probably the last of the great Marathas to test and prove the foundations of the British connection.

MR. LALA LAJPAT RAI.

In the course of his Presidential address at the Calcutta Special Congress, Mr Lala Lajpat Rai said —

At such a time and under such circumstances, the loss of a leader like the late lamented Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak is a misfortune and a calamity, the magnitude of which it is difficult to encompass by words. Just when we had the greatest need of his unswerving loyalty and steadfast devotion to the cause of his country, his cool and calm judgment, his unfaltering and firm patriotism, an inscrutable Providence has snatched him away from us. The universal grief which this sad event has evoked, and the unique demonstrations which have followed his death throughout the length and breadth of this vast sub-continent, have been a revelation both to his friends and foes. This extraordinary manifestation of popular feeling is almost

unparalleled in the history of India. All sections of the people, regardless of caste, creed and colour regardless of social religions and political divisions, regardless of economic distinctions have taken part in it, and have given conclusive proof if any was needed that in estimating the worth of its leaders and its servants, the country knows its mind and has no inclination to allow its judgment to be affected by the wishes and opinions of the highest amongst the dignitaries of the State. Here and there a few mean attempts were made to insinuate that the deceased leader was anti Muslim but our Muslim fellow-countrymen have been the most forward and the most fervent in their expressions of their regard and love for him. Some members of the ruling class too have behaved with admirable judgment. Great as has been the loss of the country generally, the loss of the Indian National Congress is even greater. The Congress has by his death lost one of its few surviving founders one who by his indomitable will and energy and his unique sacrifices and sufferings had contributed the most to the building up of that life in the country which finds its expression in the present activities of this National movement. It will be one of the first items of business of this Session to put on record in befitting language our sense of the great and irreparable loss we have suffered by the death of Lokamanya Tilak.

THE LEADER GONE.

The following leading article was published in the *India* of 6th August, 1920.—

So Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak has left us. Faithful to the end to the cause of the India whom he served, he has passed beyond the dust and heat of battle; whilst it is for foe, friend and admirer alike to gaze in mournful contemplation and sad reverie at the labours of that mighty personality.

To those of us who knew him the wonder has been that he could have endured for so long, that his frail form could have survived the cruel buffetings of an evil and perverse generation. His will and his determination to be of service was his mainstay and the source of his great fortitude. It carried him through periods of imprisonment, of harassing litigious persecution, of cruel misrepresentation and of baffling, but never frustrating, disappointment. His life story is, in a large measure, the story of India's aspiration to become free and it had much in common with other great liberators and patriots.

His personality was a pleasing, gentle and gracious one. When he first came to England it was very difficult to realise that this slight, unassuming, elderly gentleman was the man who had placed

Anglo-India in a nightmare of fear and disquietude. He suggested rather the sedate recluse of academic groves, not the noisy clamour of the forum. In committee work he gave the impression at first of a certain unobservant dreaminess, if one may say so of almost a lack of interest in the momentary momentousness of the business passing. His detachment was heightened by the physical infirmity of hearing from which he suffered. But let the moment arise, and some incisive remark some word pregnant with lucid wisdom, would cut across the drifting talk like a searchlight above flowing waters. It was at such moments that one learned to apprehend and appreciate the mentality of one of the subtlest intellects in which deep browed India has ever given birth. Nor were his objectives merely those of the immediate future. Every remark would indicate that his vision and prevision flew far ahead of the existing moment and situation and that everything was surveyed at a glance by that powerful mind. There was very little that escaped those half-closed eyes and that inwardly rapt gaze.

His courtesy and *savoir faire* were very noticeable, even in an Indian and his whole manner a tacit reproach to whatever was rough and uncomely among his environment. He was a most patient, attentive and uninterrupted listener which was perhaps one of the secrets of his great talent for diplomacy. Almost without contention Mr. Tilak

could bring his opponents, if not quite to his point of view, at least obviously and appreciably nearer. Again and again he won people round in spite of themselves. On no occasion was this more marked than when he appeared as the representative of the Home Rule League before the Joint Select Committee which sat upon the Government of India Bill last year. This came not many months after his rebuff in the Valentine Chirol case and when its result was still having a very prejudicial effect upon his reputation in certain political circles of the type from which the members of this Committee were drawn. A freezing atmosphere prevailed when Mr. Tilak took his seat in the chair of the witness. But as he quietly proceeded, first an understanding seemed to begin between himself and Lord Selborne, and then the circle widened until all the Committee became obviously more interested and sympathetic, until by the time his statements had concluded much ice had been melted, much prejudice removed, and barriers partly broken away. There was certainly a marked diminution in unfriendly reference to him after this hearing. At the last Congress his diplomatic powers again made themselves felt. Not so saintly as Mr. Gandhi, not so implacable as some at the other end of the range, Mr. Tilak exercised his talents for welding the apparently disparate and separate into a homogeneous working combination as far as was humanly possible.

His oratory was simple, homely and convincing illustrated constantly by little touches of Indian folklore and proverbial wisdom. Its effect on vast masses was irresistible. In England his speeches produced one most valuable effect. If this moderation be what officialdom in India persecutes and this man be an extremist there, then what must be the real state of affairs?—was undoubtedly the state of mind to which he brought even his most critical hearers. Perhaps Mr. Tilak did more for the cause of Indian Self Government by coming here and placing himself under the observation of British people than was at the time realised. Here was the execrated villain visible in the flesh. What was not visible nor demonstrable at all in his presence, was the conglomeration of evil qualities freely attributed to him before his personal arrival.

But above all and beyond all his subsidiary qualities of courtesy ripe scholarship culture and diplomacy there towered his dominating love for his Motherland. All his abilities, his life, his sufferings were dedicated upon that one altar. He never faltered swerved looked back nor failed. His single mindedness was equal to his ardour and his devotion matched his high purpose. Obloquy financial loss isolation misrepresentation unfaithfulness—all these he endured in full measure without flinching. Rich compensations he had in abundance. If no man was more hated none was ever

more loved. If no man was ever more persecuted, neither was a leader ever more perseveringly followed by the multitude. Just as his Mahratta race was the last to come under alien domination, so was he ever the first to indicate the path away from that servitude and toward freedom. When the day dawns for India to take her place among the free nations of the earth there will be no name more meriting inscription upon her floating banner than that of Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak. He might have been one of the world's most eminent educationists. He abandoned that for India. He could have been a most eminent advocate. He gave up that, too, for India. His published works prove that he could have become one of the greatest lights in the firmament of the entire learned world. Again, he turned aside, and for the sake of his fettered country he died, as he lived, an "agitator"—to adopt the *Times* phraseology. He has left the savants and legalists, and joined the noble army of martyrs.

The present is not the moment for criticism nor its rebuttal. But perhaps it may not be out of place just to allude to the frequent disparagement that Mr Tilak was an opponent of social reform. He was orthodox, and perhaps somewhat conservative in his orthodoxy. He was opposed to the imposition of any form of social reform upon the unwilling and unprepared, especially when it proceeded from a foreign Government. He flung back as

absurd the old fiction that social reform must precede Home Rule, citing the awkward instance of caste free yet politically bound Burma, to the confusion of the sophists. But in his heart he was no hide bound conservative. Indeed the last *Mahratta* from India (under date July 4), contains the news that he had then just attended a Kirtan party organised by the members of the depressed classes in Poona. He educated thoroughly his own daughters and postponed their marriages to the latest limits permitted by the Shastras. But he was of that true fibre of leadership which clearly perceives the impossibility of leading every movement and of fussing and spluttering upon Committee after Committee in promoting so-called progress. One thing he placed before all else, the freedom of his country and that cause he held supreme. Lokamanya Tilak has gone. We know not who can replace him.

LOKAMANYA BAL GANGADHAR TILAK

Miss H. Normontou wrote in the *India* of 6th August 1920 —

The late Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak was born at Ratnagiri in 1856 being the son of Mr. G. R. Tilak Assistant Deputy Educational Inspector of

Jhana and Poona, a learned writer upon trigonometry and grammar. By birth Mr. Tilak was a Chitpavan Brahmin of the Konkan or sea-coast sub-caste. In 1876 when only twenty Mr. Tilak graduated in Arts with honours at Bombay, taking a law degree three years later. Having formed a resolution never to accept Government service the Nationalist leader of the future began, as have so many other great leaders, by devoting himself to the service of education, and in 1880 opened a school which in 1884 became the Fergusson College.

Contemporaneously, Mr Tilak with four devoted comrades started also two Nationalist newspapers, the *Mahratta* and the *Kesari*, both of which rapidly became the leading papers of the Deccan. For severely criticising the treatment given to Mr H. H. Shivajirao of Kolhapur the Karbhari of the State prosecuted the editors, and Mr. Tilak incurred four months' imprisonment. This but increased the popularity of the school and of the papers. In 1890, however, Mr. Tilak severed his connection with the College. As permanent Professor of Mathematics and occasional Professor of Sanskrit and Science he had left an impressive record for both originality and thoroughness.

The cessation of his scholastic career left him freer for public work, which he began by an ardent opposition to the Age of Consent Bill then being

rushed through the Viceroy's Council. It was the coercive method of the Reform which he opposed, not the idea in itself. This controversy was the origin of the division of political life in Poona into the two parties of the Orthodox and the Reformers. About this time Mr. Tilak also came into prominence as a Law Lecturer. Some of his scanty leisure he devoted to studies of the *Bhagavad Gita* and the *Rigveda*. His monograph on the antiquity of the Vedas as proved by astronomical observations first sent to the International Congress of Orientalists and later published as *THE ORION* led to a gradual but fairly complete acceptance of its main theory that the *Rigveda* must have been composed before the Greeks separated from the Hindus, probably before 4000 B. C. The book was warmly received by scholars all over the world.

In 1894 Mr. Tilak became involved in another law suit, the Bapat case, this time as counsel for the defence. His searching cross examination of the witnesses for the prosecution is memorable. But henceforth the political aspects of his career became more and more prominent and as Secretary of the Bombay Provincial Conference he organised five sessions the first being held at Poona in 1892 and at this time his enormous influence over the masses began to be very unmistakable and aroused Anglo-India to a dread of his activities. Twice he was elected as a member of the local Legislative Council.

and also as a Fellow of Bombay University; in 1895 being elected at the head of the poll at the general elections to the City Municipality of Poona.

The new ferment in politics was accompanied by a return to the veneration of indigenous spiritual cults, and the name of Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak came to be inseparably blended with the revival of worship in connection with the Ganapathi and Shivaji festivals. Upon the faith of their fathers Mr. Tilak believed in building a healthy self-respect for the then rising generation, rather than upon the Government's anæmic text books. In 1895 Mr. Tilak was again elected as Secretary of the eleventh National Congress held in Poona. Next year in a severe visitation of famine Poona's great citizen came forward with schemes for alleviating distress, but this merely brought down the wrath of Government upon the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, the society moving in the matter, and it was ultimately proscribed. Subsequently he started the Hindu plague hospital and himself gave much courageous personal service to sufferers.

In 1897 Lieutenant Ayerst and Mr. Rand were murdered by an unknown person a week after the celebration of the Shivaji festival. The Bombay Government thereupon prosecuted Mr. Tilak for sedition. He was sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment and leave to appeal to the Privy

Council was at first refused but subsequently obtained the Rt Hon H H Asquith M P appearing for Mr Tilak. In spite of the able way in which Mr Asquith laid stress on the misdirection of the jury at the former trial by Mr Justice Strachey the Council rejected Mr Tilak's application. A number of great Orientalists petitioned Queen Victoria and the sentence was considerably shortened Mr Tilak being released in September, 1898. His health however had suffered considerably although his enormous erudition in sacred studies had been increased during his enforced leisure and he had partially prepared his second great work, the main theme of it being that the ancestors of the Vedic Rishis lived in an Arctic home in interglacial times. The book was published in 1903 and was reviewed with deep respect for its author's learning and conclusions.

From 1901 to 1904 Mr Tilak was immersed in the Tai Maharaj case a private affair into which Mr Tilak was drawn through his goodness of heart in accepting the principal trusteeship and executorship for an old friend in the hope of regenerating an old aristocratic family. After a prolonged and most harassing trial Mr Tilak was sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for perjury, but the Sessions Judge on appeal reversed this to six months and later in the High Court the charge of perjury was

proved a monstrous falsehood and Mr. Tilak emerged from all this imbroglio without the slightest stain upon his character. This case alone caused at least 160 Court sittings and naturally made enormous inroads upon Mr. Tilak's time and energy. His serenity and cheerful self-control were the constant wonder of his associates at the time. From the vindication of his personal honour he passed unconcernedly on to the installation of modern machinery for his papers. The Bengal Partition of 1905 led to another renaissance of national spirit, during which the movements of Swadeshi Boycott, National Education and Swarajya were inaugurated. It was to Mr. Tilak that all these movements looked for inspiration and guidance in Western India.

In 1908 Mr. Tilak was again arrested for the publication of an article in the *Kesari* which was alleged to be a subtle commendation of the bombing of two English ladies at Muzzafarpur in Bengal in mistake for the District Magistrate. The Parsee Judge, Mr Justice Davar, found Mr Tilak guilty and sentenced him to six years' transportation, afterwards commuted to simple imprisonment at Mandalay. Upon his release in 1914, Mr Tilak issued a statement repudiating hostility to the British Government and condemning acts of violence in British India. In 1916, however, he was bound over to be of good behaviour for a year in order to prevent seditious agitation, but the High Court reversed

this the decision establishing the right under the law to agitate for complete Home Rule

In the autumn of 1918 Mr Tilak came to England to prosecute against Sir Valentine Chirol a suit for defamation on account of statements in that author's book entitled 'Indian Unrest.' It will be remembered that Sir Valentine Chirol was given powerful governmental aid in preparing his defence. In 1919 the trial took place before Mr Justice Darling, Sir John Simon appearing for Mr Tilak and Sir Edward Carson for the defendant. Mr Tilak lost his case but not his place in the hearts of Indians, almost the last event we have had to chronicle in *India* of his career being the presentation to him of a lakh of rupees collected by his admirers to reimburse him for his expenditure upon the case.

During his stay in England Mr Tilak not only fought his case but also did much general propaganda and prepared the way for the reorganisation of the British Committee a work in which his gentle persistence gradually won him golden opinions from all its members. His evidence given before the Joint Select Committee sitting upon the Government of India Bill speaks for itself. A very able memorandum was submitted by him to Mr Clemenceau dealing with India and self-determination following upon the refusal of a

passport to Paris to attend the sessions of the Peace Conference. The Indian National Congress had nominated Mr. Tilak with two others as India's delegates to that Conference. Undaunted by obstacles, Mr. Tilak then prepared a brochure upon India's claim to an equal membership within the League of Nations and submitted it to the President of the Conference, to President Wilson, and many others. President Wilson's Secretary conveyed to the author the President's "high appreciation of your kind thought of him."

Since his return to India Mr. Tilak's activities have largely been an affair of the will controlling an everweakening physique. We are glad to note that, together with all else who knew him, Mrs. Besant has recently scouted as preposterous the slanderous financial allegations against him brought by an employee who owed gratitude, not insolence, to India's Grand Old Man. Mr. Tilak had opponents: in many ways his life was one of turmoil and strife. In the deep devotion of many he found his solace: he was also fortified by much loyal service from associates and colleagues. His death was not altogether unexpected, and closed a career of matchless devotion to his country. Achievement and not regret is the note appropriate to his passing.

APPRECIATION FROM DR. G. B. CLARK.

It is with deep regret that I have heard the sad news of Mr. Tilak's death. It will be a great blow to the cause of Indian self government, as he was one of the ablest of its advocates. With the possible exception of the late Mr. Gokhale, he did better propaganda work in this country than any of the Indian speakers whom I have heard. I had not met Mr. Tilak during my two visits to the Indian National Congress, and the Press in this country had grossly misrepresented his character and his aims. When I met him in London (shortly after his arrival here) I was greatly charmed with his transparent honesty of purpose, his wide humanitarian ideals and his philosophical conceptions of politics and government. He was not a great orator, but though he never appealed to passion and rarely to sentiment his method of advocacy was very successful. He often reminded me of Mr. Michael Davitt. Like Mr. Tilak Davitt had suffered years of imprisonment for agitating for the rights of his country to self government. Instead of hardening or brutalising him imprisonment had had the opposite effect. The same can be said of Mr. Tilak. His many admirers in this country share the grief that India feels at his loss.

MR. S. S. SETLUR

Mr. S S Setlur of the Bombay bar paid the following tribute:—

What was Mr. Tilak's ideal and how did he serve it? These questions could be answered in two words. His ideal was that of Gita, viz., *Moksha-Bandhamoksha* in this world in order to be free to seek final Moksha, each in his own way. In other words his immediate ideal was Swarajya or Self-Government and the means to attain it was self-exertion. Long before the great Dadabhai Naoroji adopted Swarajya in Calcutta as an object to be striven after by the Congress, Tilak's *Kesari* was preaching it in its columns. Those of you that have read the report of the first sedition trial published at the time by me and my friend, Mr. Deshpande, will remember the stress that was laid on the use of this expression "Swarajya" by the presiding judge, Mr. Justice Strachey, in his charge to the jury. If then, statesmanship consists in foreseeing the far future and providing for it in the present, Mr. Tilak has been proved by subsequent events to be a truer statesman than the *Times of India* and a "band of intellectuals in Poona" with whom he was always in opposition would have us believe

In order to win Swaraj he had his own political creed, which has been graphically described by the leading organ of his political opponents, the *Leader*,

thus —“With him the line of least resistance was the fetish of indolent natures unwilling to make sacrifices or bear suffering. To be militant, to embarrass the agency that imposed order from without in the unhallowed interest of a people alien to the land and concerned only to exploit India's resources and to perpetuate her subjection to wrest reforms from their reluctant hands, to force them to an irresistible national will to make with them no terms which while gaining small concessions, might delay the day of redemption—this was his practical political philosophy and the code of conduct which he inculcated as well as practised. Here again he has been proved to be a true statesman. The Punjab tragedy, the vote of the House of Lords and the breach of promise about Turkey were needed to open our eyes to the soundness of this political creed of his. It has practically been adopted now by the whole country.

PRACTICAL VEDANTIN

This virile creed of Mr. Tilak has naturally always been on the nerves of our Anglo-Indian bureaucrats. They wanted to nip it in the bud by crushing him with all the power in their hands. But he was not a mere ambitious worldly minded politician, but a practical *Vedantin* with whom politics was a religion. They were able to crush his body by sending him to jail thrice, but Ariel like his spirit was invulnerable. He

did not believe in any creed which was not put in practice. Ever since he entered the stage of Indian politics, he has put his own in practice and uncomplainingly taken the consequences. This rigid consistency of his practice with his creed caught the imagination of the idealistic mind of Indian nation and he became its idol.

EARLIEST NATION-BUILDER.

We have been speaking of the Indian nation ever since the Congress began. As the scurrilous writer of the leader in the *Times of India* unwillingly admits, it was merely a Congress of intellectuals till Mr. Tilak's great personality magnetised the masses into it. He was the first to realise the importance of the masses for true nationhood. He was also the first to realise the importance of linking the present with the past and rejuvenating the nation by reviving its life-pulse weakened by age.

It is the recognition of this important fact that suggested to him the master-stroke of organising the Ganapati-melas. The leader-writer of the *Times of India* attributes this to Mr. Tilak's anti-Mahomedanism even after Mr. Shaukat Ali—Mussalman of Mussalmans,—sought and obtained the privilege of carrying his corpse to the cremation-ground, and in spite of the speech made by Mr. Tilak in the Lucknow Congress which finally sealed the compact between Hindus and Mahomedans which was

brought about as much with his support as of any other non Mussalman. Leaving that journal to revel in its own malevolence which even death could not cure, I can say from personal knowledge that organisation of Melas was a master stroke and really was the beginning of the nationalisation of the masses. The political instinct of the Anglo Indians at once saw the danger to the hold of the bureaucracy on the land and their bitter hatred of Mr Tilak really dates from then. They knew too well that but for him the Congress would have continued to register every year some pious resolutions and soundly sleep the rest of the time.

As so much has been written and said of him since his death it is not necessary to elaborate further. I have said enough to show how he became such a powerful leader in this country. He was emphatically the earliest nation builder.

INDIA'S GARIBALDI

When the history of the 19th and 20th century India comes to be written Swami Vivekananda will be put down as the Mazzini of India and Mr Tilak as the Garibaldi—the soldier who created and led the army into the battlefield and secured victory in the great constitutional fight with the Anglo Indian bureaucracy. Mr Tilak did not indeed live to see victory actually achieved. But he did see the beginning

of it. Infirm as he was, the moment he had to gird up his loins to begin a fight, he seemed to feel young. I noticed this myself when I saw him in Bombay on his way to England. He was all buoyant and full of spirit and seemed to have shaken off altogether his bodily ailments. None of our leaders can compare with him in this respect except Sir Pherozeshah Mehta. Both were born-fighters. It is because of this, I suppose, that although each was the antipode of the other in politics, they appreciated each other. I have myself heard Sir Pherozeshah say once that without Mr. Tilak and his fiery followers, we would have got nothing. He further added, "their patriotism is unquestionable, but we cannot identify the Congress with their politics," as a matter of policy of course. Mr. Tilak, on his part, always recognised Sir Pherozeshah as the leader of the Congress

It is because Mr. Tilak was always in the firing line of the battle, and took upon himself every risk that came in his way and never knew what defeat was and never turned his back, but invariably converted what would have been an irretrievable defeat, to us, common-folk, into an orderly retreat and thus bore on him, as so many Victoria Cross medals, indelible scars inflicted on him that every day that wore on saw him more and more firmly seated in the innermost heart of every Indian. I have carefully read the writings on him during the past week

and found on jarring voice to the symphony of praise that followed him to his cremation ground except that of his implacable reviler the *Times of India*. Its leader,—not on Mr Tilak, mind you, but on "Death of Mr Tilak" bears the imprint of a brown cloven foot. The exception, however, proves the rule.

MRS SARALADEVI

The king never dies. The king is dead. Long live the king. That is what is generally said. On the 1st August, the cry in the funeral procession was Tilak Maharajaki Jai and nobody could have said that the two mile long procession was a funeral procession. What was it that drew such large crowds in spite of the adverse elements. It was his love for his mother country. His last words were 'Swaraj for this country. Mr Tilak never wore any foreign clothes for he never thought it was necessary to wear the clothes of foreign manufacture by discarding those that were made in his own country. For the sake of his country, for the good of his country he was always willing to wear the coarse clothes made in India so that the industries of his country might flourish. I deprecate the daily change of fashions in clothes, which necessitated their bringing new clothes of

foreign manufacture almost every day. The question was were the women going to be dressed by the fashionable tailors, or were they going to dress as they liked in consonance with their patriotism. Only women could set an example to their husbands, their brothers and children in the way of wearing *Suadeshi* clothes.

MR. TILAK'S LOVE OF SIMPLICITY.

One trait of Mr. Tilak was his simplicity wherever he went. He always kept himself on the same level as other common people, and that was why he could enter into their feelings better than anyone else. He was not only Lokamanya, but a Lokapriya also. Only where there was such intense love could they fight for the country as Mr. Tilak did for them. There was some difference of opinion among them whether the meeting of condolence should be called, as it was feared that the Government officials might not like their taking part in a meeting of this sort, and might visit their wrath upon the heads of their relatives. She deprecated any such cowardly fear for the sake of their Mother-country. The love of women for their mother country should be like that of Sita for Rama, of Damayanti for Nala.

They were Indian women, and theirs was not mere lip sympathy. They gave up something when any of their dearest died, and the present was an

occasion to express their sorrow in some concrete form. She would suggest that they should take the *Swadeshi* vow, at least for a few years, if not for ever.

MRS GULABANU WADIA

Mrs Gulabann Wadia said —

A sad duty rests on me to express our feelings of deep regret for the passing away of one of the greatest Patriots of India—Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak. The irreparable loss sustained by the whole of India and the eulogies poured on him are very fresh in our minds that I need not speak much on the great and glorious services rendered by the late Mr. Tilak for our dear Motherland. His deeds for the amelioration of the masses and his teachings to the people of our country to stand firm for the betterment of the motherland indicates the steadfastness of his bold character in public life. The devotion with which his thousands of friends, followers and admirers looked upon him without the distinction of caste and creed speaks itself for his pure and simple life. Suffice it to say that in Bal Gangadhar Tilak we have lost a national hero, a renowned politician, an eminent scholar and a reputed martyr, and the nation deplores this irreparable loss.

With these few words and the prayer that his departed soul may rest in Peace Eternal and Light Perpetual shine on him, I beg to move :—

This meeting of the women of Bombay called under the auspices of Hind Mahilla Samaj, Pathare Prabhu Mahila Samaj, Gujrati Hindu Shree Mandal, Bhagini Samaj, Jain Mahila Samaj, the Bombay branch of the Women's Indian Association, and the Hindu Ladies' Social and Literary Club, expresses its deep sorrow over the death of Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak who loved India with a passion rarely excelled, whose purity of private life had made him a model husband and father and whose simplicity was a treasure for India.

This meeting offers its condolences to the family of the deceased patriot and authorizes the President Shreemati Saraladevi Chaudhari to forward this resolution to the family of the deceased.

SIR CHIMANLAL SETALVAD.

Great is the loss sustained by the world of Letters and Scholarship by the recent death of Bal Gangadhar Tilak. He was one of that small band of Educational Missionaries who started the Poona New English School and brought into existence the Deccan Education Society. Mr Tilak was one of the first life-members of that Society when the

Fergusson College was established in the year 1886. He was a deep Sanskrit scholar and carried on research work on original lines. His work 'Orion' or 'the Antiquity of the Vedas' and his 'Arctic Home in the Vedas' which attracted the attention of European scholars and his exposition of the Bhagavat Gita will endure as monuments of his learning, research and scholarship.

MR. V J PATEL

Before I give you an idea of my recent activities, in England, let me not forget to express my acute sense of bereavement in finding Mr Tilak no longer amongst us. To me it is a personal loss. He was the first to realise years ago what we realise only now—that the policy of petitions and prayers was a futile one. By his stay in England, Mr Tilak had become convinced that agitation outside India was necessary and the very first thing that strikes me after my return is that his wishes in this direction must be respected and put into action. You know he had got a Congress Committee appointed to collect funds and to send out to England accredited Congress representatives. I do wish some of them had come over to help me this time after I left.

MR. JAMNADAS DWARKADAS.

No other leader in India had that hold over the masses which Lokamanya Tilak had. His wonderful, almost magic, influence over the people of this country was due to his personal purity, his simplicity of life, his eagerness to lift them up so that they may hold their heads up and demand their birth-right, his love for the country which he placed before everything else in life, his unequalled suffering and self-sacrifice and his ability to stand and fight and never to despair, even in the hour of the greatest difficulty for himself and his country. He lived in glory and was given a fitting glorious funeral, the sight of which even gods would enjoy.

DR SUBRAMANIA IYER.

Dr Subramania Iyer said that Mr. Tilak came to see him during his last visit and in the course of the conversation that ensued he (Mr. Tilak) laid stress on two important points. The first point was that Mr Tilak would not boycott the Reforms but accept them for what they were worth, but continue agitation even more vigorously till full-fledged Home Rule was granted. The second point was that Mr. Tilak did not care to press for a Royal Commission to inquire into the Punjab tragedy as he knew full well that it would also whitewash the official

enfeebled by prison he worked as though he were strong and robust and died in harness. He has entered into peace but his spirit will inspire those who love India.

MR. C F ANDREWS WIRES FROM BOLPUR.

Lokamanya Tilak's loss is irreparable. He was needed most at such a time as this. Not only was he our greatest patriot and statesman but also one of our profoundest scholars whose name will live in literature and scholarship. Our Shantiniketan Ashram is closed to-day in memory of his death and reverence for his life. My whole heart goes out in sympathy to India in this hour of her greatest loss.

MR. K. NATARAJAN

Mr Tilak's death is a very great loss to the country. A man of towering intellect, dauntless courage and unspotted private life, in any free country he would have risen to the highest position in the State and been its strongest bulwark. Yet his public career was almost wholly spent in opposition, in severest condemnation of the system of administration. Mr Tilak will be gratefully remembered by his countrymen for teaching them to stand upright.

MR. PĀRANJPYE.

Mr. Paranjpye in a telegram to the *Chronicle* from Poona says —

Despite difference of opinion about views and methods India lost in Mr. Tilak a great son whose great intellect, sacrifice and devotion to country even enemies acknowledge.

MR. G. Y. CHITNAVIS.

We have suffered to-day a very heavy loss in the death of Lokamanya Tilak. Mr. Tilak so much identified himself with the political being of our country that his removal from this world is not so much a personal loss as a national calamity. The nation is already groaning under tremendous sufferings and if the best and the greatest among us be thus unfortunately snatched away by the cruel hand of death it is indeed too great a penalty for us to endure patiently. Let us, however, console ourselves with the thought that everything rests in the hands of God and we have only to pray to Him to grant us strength to bear the loss and also to inspire us with the same spirit of independence and self-sacrifice that so eminently characterised the career of our leader.

MR. CHOTANI

I express my greatest sorrow and grief at the sad demise of the greatest national leader of India, Lokamanya Tilak, who has been snatched away from us to-day. Lokamanya Tilak did splendid services to India and his name will ever be remembered in Indian history. He has set an example of self sacrifice and has left behind him a remarkable impression which will always guide our present and future generations. It is a great loss to India which cannot be compensated. At this critical hour when India is struggling for the assertion of her national honour, his valuable guidance was absolutely necessary. But we must submit to the will of the Almighty, and pray that his soul may rest in peace.

SIR N G CHANDAVARKAR.

Sir N G Chandavarkar writes to the *Kesari* —

We all feel the loss as national. He has died fighting disease as bravely as he fought for his country courageously. He has made his mark in history.

MRS. RASIKAMANI DESAI.

They had to grieve over the loss of one of India's greatest patriots. Lokamanya Tilak was a real *Lokamanya* as was evident from the unprecedented marks of respect he received at the time of the funeral. All his actions for the sake of his Mother country were actuated by a spirit of self-sacrifice. He could accomplish much for this country only through his phenomenal patience and perseverance, and his selflessness was patent in all that he did. He was a jewel of the purest ray serene, and his loss was irreparable.

THE BRITISH CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

The British Congress Committee, London, cabled to the General Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee the following —

The British Congress Committee learned with grief the death of Mr. Tilak, and place on record their high appreciation of devoted and invaluable services throughout his life to the cause of India's freedom. Convey to the people of India deep sympathy at our irreparable loss of the indomitable leader. We hope the great example his life and work will be an abiding inspiration to continue the

struggle for self determination canse he strenuously laboured for—his highest tribute countrymen can pay his memory

M PAUL RICHARD

M Paul Richard Co editor with Sriut Aurobindo Ghose of *Arya*, sends the following message to the *Independent* —

Those who lived for the Motherland cannot die They live in her This death is a sign—the ood of a great day and the beginning of a still greater ooe He dies to work with more power He dies to conquer

MR. JAYARAMACHAR.

Mr Jayaramachar a great Kanarese apeaker in a telling speech, said that Mr Tilak did eveo greater service than Ramdaa to India because while the latter organised Hindus only to resist the on slaught of Mahomedaos, the former orgaoused Hindus Mnslims and men of every caste and creed as a nation to work for the liberation of their Motherland

PANDIT MALAVIAYA.

India has lost one of her greatest sons in the death of my friend Mr. B. G. Tilak, who is mourned for by all men and women in this country. He loved the ancient arts of India, her literature and her culture. He took pride in all that was good in India. He also took the greatest interest in, and was a great exponent of, their religious teachings; as was evidenced in his book *Gita Rahasya* which had become a classic by now.

LOKAMANYA TILAK—August 1st.

Mr. E. L. AIYAR, Bar-at-Law, Editor, *Swadharma*, writes in his paper of 7th August, 1921.—

Ever since the mortal remains of Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak was committed to the flames by a mourning nation, the Chowpathi Sands of Bombay have become the theatre of Indian Nationalism. It was there that the movement of Non-Cooperation was started last year. It was to this sacred place that the sons of India and leaders of her people instinctively turned their steps, when on the eve of a momentous struggle they had to take a solemn vow to discard foreign cloth. The association of the memory of Lokamanya with the struggle

for freedom is the tribute of appreciation which India pays to the great leader who lived, fought and died in her service.

By all accounts the homage paid to the memory of Lokamanya Tilak on the day of his anniversary is unparalleled in the history of hero worship. To honor him India sent its great sons and daughters from North South, East and West. Men and women of all ranks grades of all castes and creeds, thousands in number, bare footed invoked the spirit of the departed to consecrate the columns as they march to the battle of freedom an awe inspiring spectacle this of a grateful people honouring a great soul.

The verdict of a people is the judgment of history rarely erring always true. The verdict of India written on the thousands of earnest and devoted faces that gathered on the Chowpathi was that Bal Gangadhar Tilak is verily a Lokamanya, one worthy to be honored and cherished in Indian hearts as a great Soul—who held aloft the ideal of liberty and inspired the drooping spirits of this stricken people with the fire of enthusiasm and determination. This is immortality indeed to be treasured in the memory of a deathless people as its redeemer from the bondage of servitude. This immortality India offered to Lokamanya Tilak on the 1st of August.

In India there has been no lack of great men. Her history abounds with sadhus and statesmen, intellectual gaints and moral heroes. And yet as Lokamanya enters the Valhalla and takes his place in the company of the illustrious dead, he carries with him a distinctive quality of mind and soul that makes him shine with unique splendour even in the midst of effulgent spirits.

There is no theodolite to measure the greatness of man save his influence over common men. The poet whose songs are sung by the wandering minstrel and the labouring cooly, the saints whose ministrations bring solace and comfort for the suffering and the sorrowful, the politician who moves the mind of the masses and opens their eyes to the vision of freedom, lives in history and is called great. Judged by this universal standard of greatness, the Lokamanya is a giant among men ; for, his influence over the rank and file of Indians was phenomenal. He is the first Indian politician who has captured the heart and imagination of the working men of India. When he was sentenced to imprisonment, it is the heart of the labourer that heaved with anger and passionate protest. When he came from England after what destined to be his last great political service to the country, it was the commoners of Bombay who rolled in their thousands to welcome home the coming of their hero. When he was taken

away from us it is the worker and the labourer who followed his hier and were not to be comforted, for their champion was no more. Statesmen and Empire builders are unknown save to the students of history. Rajahs and Maharajahs are recognised beyond their dominions. But Tilak Maharaj had an empire laid as vast as the confines of India and what the potentates and pioneers of the world aspire after but do not attain—the esteem and affection of a people over whom he has cast the spell of love. Is there an Indian be it in the village or in town who has not admired his indomitable courage, unquenchable patriotism? Is there a schoolboy who has not cherished him as his hero?

The secret of Lokamanya Tilak's unquestioned influence over India, is his unreserved dedication of his life and talents to the mother. There are many who serve her with a faint heart and a feeble will, some who follow her when it brings them name and fame. To Lokamanya the service of the mother is no fitful impulse that suddenly appears and disappears, no emotional tidal wave that exalts or depresses. To him it was not a passport to fame and name, a pose to seek popular applause. The service of the motherland was a consuming passion, the very basic principle of his being. Endowed with abilities that any day would have brought him wealth and influence he chose and that deliberately,

the poverty that was ever the reward of a true patriot. No suffering, no persecution, no ridicule could ever turn him from the love of his people, from the service of his countrymen. In adversity as in prosperity, in weakness as in strength, in bondage as in freedom, in old age as in youth the Lokamanya served his country and in that service never vacillated, never hesitated, never halted. When standing before a hostile jury and an inimical judge, surrounded on every side with the implacable hatred of a baffled bureaucracy, Lokamanya Tilak, undaunted and unruffled, uttered the memorable words which may well be regarded as the creed of his life. "There are higher powers that rule the destinies of things and it may be the will of Providence that the cause which I represent may prosper more by my sufferings than by my remaining free." Surely this love that suffers that others may live, is the balm that is the healing of nations.

We who are commemorating Lokamanya's anniversary should remind ourselves of the message of his life. There is one idea that runs through all his writings and speeches like the golden thread in a neck-lace of pearls and it is this that the liberty of India should first be won in the realm of the heart—the will. We are slaves to-day not so much because others keep us in thralldom but because we have not the will to be free. The voice that ever

dios into our ears our weakness, our impotency, is the voice the Mara the arch deceiver the magic spell of power which the conquerors have cast on us, the snare of Maya. "To-day my countrymen the voice of Lokamanya rings across the confines of life, "if you will to be free you shall surely be freed There is no power no earth that can stand in the way of a nation marching determinedly to freedom "

A scholar a teacher of no mean parts, Lokamanya Tilak's claim to our gratitude is his service to the country

For decades Lokamanya Tilak was the central figure in Indian politics Hated by the bureaucrat, suspected by the Government feared by all the enemies of Indian progress, alone he carried on almost a hopeless struggle against tremendous odds. There were times when the sky was overcast, and the thunder and lightning played around him and the battle seemed all but lost. Yet never once in his life did Lokamanya Tilak lose his faith in his people never once did he doubt the greatness of their destiny He had the joy of seeing that his sufferings have not been in vain He had inflicted a moral blow on the bureaucracy He has roused his people from their lethargy and implanted in their hearts the unquenchable thirst for freedom God had been gracious to him Ere he closed his eyes He raised a man who is to be his worthy successor

to lead his people to the promised land. His eyes have seen the vision of India's freedom. The long night has passed and the sun of hope is dawning in the East. The great soul might well have uttered in joy. "Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace for my eyes have seen thy salvation." Great in death as in life, Bal Gangadhar Tilak passed into eternity with a serene mind bequeathing to us the sanctified memory of devoted service, passionate patriotism, that shall abide with us and inspire us as we launch on the great adventure of freedom, and liberty. May his soul rest in peace. Shanti, Shanti, Shanti.

APPRECIATION.

I.

(By C. A. K.)

Dishonour not his memory with tear,
The grief of common men! Himself ne'er grieved,
Whate'er befell, nor in despair believed,
One moment Before his presence melted fears,
Or great or small, and as he shook his spears,
What for that quaked not, pre-divined his doom?
What heart that stirred not e'en within the tomb?
He's gone!—But how unwise to have thought the years,
Would spare him longer! He's gone! And so must all,
All be! But from the one gaunt frame we saw,
Him move in, into unnumbered hearts he hath thrown,
The sparks of his mighty being, and he doth call,
Now that he is silent, with voice more potent than law,
To toil and toil nor falter nor bemoan!

APPENDIX D

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS

TENETS OF THE NEW PARTY

(Calcutta 2nd January 1907)

Two new words have recently come into existence with regard to our politics and they are *Moderates* and *Extremists*. These words have a specific relation to time, and they therefore will change with time. The Extremists of to-day will be Moderates to-morrow just as the Moderates of to-day were Extremists yesterday. When the National Congress was first started and Mr. Dadabhai's views, which now go for Moderates were given to the public he was styled an Extremist so that you will see that the term Extremist is an expression of progress. We are Extremists to-day and our sons will call themselves Extremists and us Moderates. Every new party begins as Extremists and ends as Moderates. The sphere of practical politics is not unlimited. We cannot say what will or will not happen 1000 years hence—perhaps

during that long period, the whole of the white race will be swept away in another glacial period. We must, therefore, study the present and work out a programme to meet the present condition.

It is impossible to go into details within the time at my disposal. One thing is granted, *viz.*, that this Government does not suit us. As has been said by an eminent statesman—the Government of one country by another can never be a successful, and therefore, a permanent Government. There is no difference of opinion about this fundamental proposition between the Old and New schools. One fact is that this alien Government has ruined the country. In the beginning, all of us were taken by surprise. We were almost dazed. We thought that everything that the rulers did was for our good and that this English Government has descended from the clouds to save us from the invasions of Tamerlane and Chengis Khan, and, as they say, not only from foreign invasions but from internecine warfare, or the internal or external invasions, as they call it. We felt happy for a time, but it soon came to light that the peace which was established in this country did this as Mr Dadabhai has said in one place—that we were prevented from going at each other's throats, so that a foreigner might go at the throats of us all. Pax Britannica has been established in this country in order that a foreign Government may exploit the country. That this is

the effect of this Pax Britannica is being gradually realised in these days. It was an unhappy circumstance that it was not realised sooner. We believed in the benevolent intentions of the Government, but in politics there is no benevolence. Benevolence is used to sugar coat the declarations of self interest and we were in those days deceived by the apparent benevolent intentions under which rampant self interest was concealed. That was our state then. But soon a change came over us. English education growing poverty and better familiarity with our rulers, opened our eyes and our leaders especially the venerable leader who presided over the recent Congress was the first to tell us that the drain from the country was ruining it and if the drain was to continue there was some great disaster awaiting us. So terribly convinced was he of this that he went over from here to England and spent twenty five years of his life in trying to convince the English people of the injustice that is being done to us. He worked very hard. He had conversations and interviews with Secretaries of State, with Members of Parliament—and with what result?

He has come here at the age of eighty two to tell us that he is bitterly disappointed. Mr Gokhale, I know, is not disappointed. He is a friend of mine and I believe that this is his honest conviction. Mr Gokhale is not disappointed but is ready

to wait another eighty years till he is disappointed like Mr. Dadabhai.

He is young, younger than myself, and I can very well see that disappointment cannot come in a single interview, from interviews which have lasted only for a year or so. If Mr. Dadabhai is disappointed, what reason is there that Mr Gokhale shall not, after twenty years? It is said there is a revival of Liberalism, but how long will it last? Next year it might be, they are out of power, and are we to wait till there is another revival of Liberalism, and then again if that goes down and third revival of Liberalism takes place; and after all what can a liberal Government do? I will quote the observation of the father of the Congress, Mr. A. O. Hume. This was made in 1893 Let the Government be Liberal or Conservative, rest sure that they will not yield to you willingly anything. A Liberal Government means that the Government or the members of the Government are imbued with liberal principles because they want to have the administration of their country conducted on those principles. They are Liberals in England, but I have seen Liberals in England come out to India to get into conservative ways. Many of the civilian officers from schools and colleges, when they come out are very good Liberals. Coming in contact with Anglo-Indian men or when they marry Anglo-Indian women, they change their views, and by the time

they leave India they are conservatives. This has been the experience all over. So liberal or conservative, the point is, is any one prepared to give you those rights and concessions which intellectually a philosopher may admit to be fit to be conceded or granted to a subject nation in course of time? It is intellectual perception. A philosopher and statesman cannot be forced to do it. I laughed when I read the proceedings of the meeting in Calcutta, congratulating people on the appointment of Mr. Morley to the Secretaryship of State for India. Passages were read from Mr. Morley's books. Mr. Morley had said so and so in Mr. Gladstone's life. Mr. Morley had said this and had said that he was the editor of a certain paper thirty years ago and he said so and so. I asked myself if it would not have been better that some of the passages from the *Bhagavad Gita* were so quoted. The persons to whom I refer are gentlemen for whom I have the highest respect. But what I say is, that they utterly misunderstood the position or absolutely ignored the distinction between a philosopher and a statesman. A statesman is bound to look to the present circumstances and see what particular concessions are absolutely necessary, and what is theoretically true or wrong. He has to take into consideration both the sides. There are the interested Anglo-Indians and the Secretary of State is the head of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy whose main piece

he is. Do you mean to say that when the whole bureaucracy, the whole body of Anglo-Indians, is against you, the Secretary of State will set aside the whole bureaucracy and give you rights? Has he the power? If he does, will he not be asked to walk away? So then it comes to this that the whole British electorate must be converted. So you are going to convert all persons who have a right to vote in England, so as to get the majority on your side, and when this is done and when by that majority the liberal party is returned to Parliament bent upon doing good to India and it appoints a Secretary of State as good as Mr Morley, then you hope to get something by the old methods. The new Party has realised this position. The whole electorate of Great Britain must be converted by lectures. You cannot touch their pocket or interest, and that man must be a fool indeed who would sacrifice his own interest on hearing a philosophical lecture! He will say, "It is a very good lecture, but I am not going to sacrifice my interest." I will tell you a story. One of my friends who had been lecturing in England delivered a lecture on the grievances of India. A man from the audience came and asked him how many of them there were. The lecturer replied, "thirty crores." The inquirer replied, 'Then you do not deserve anything.' That is the attitude with which an English workman looks at the question. You now depend on the Labour Party.

Labourers have their own grievances, but they won't treat you any better. On the contrary they will treat you worse, because British labourers obtain their livelihood by sending us their goods. This is the real position. This position is gradually recognised. Younger people who have gone to England like Mr Gokhale are not so disappointed though those who went with him were, like Mr Lala Lajpat Rai. I am entering into personalities but I cannot place these facts in an intelligent manner if I do not give the names although all of them are my friends. This is then the state of things. The new party perceives that this is futile. To convert the whole electorate of England to your opinion and then to get indirect pressure to bear upon the members of Parliament, they in their turn to return a cabinet favourable to India and the whole Parliament the liberal party and the cabinet to bring pressure on the bureaucracy to yield—we say this is hopeless. You can now understand the difference between the old and the new parties. Appeals to the bureaucracy are hopeless. On this point both the new and old parties are agreed. The old party believes in appealing to the British nation and we do not. That being our position it logically follows we must have some other method. There is another alternative. We are not going to sit down quiet. We shall have some other method by which to achieve what we want. We are not disappointed.

we are not pessimists. It is the hope of achieving the goal by our own efforts that has brought into existence this new party.

There is no empire lost by a free grant of concessions by the rulers to the ruled. History does not record any such event. Empires are lost by luxury, by being too much bureaucratic or overconfident or from other reasons. But an empire has never come to an end by the rulers conceding power to the ruled.

You got the Queen's proclamation. But it was obtained without a Congress. They wanted to pacify you, as you had grown too turbulent, and you got that proclamation without a demand, without Congress and without constitutional agitation. That is a very good and generous declaration indeed. The Queen was very anxious that it should be couched in such terms as would create hopes in you. Now, all that anxiety did not proceed from constitutional agitation. It was after 1858, that constitutional agitation began. The result was, the proclamation remained a dead letter, because you could not get it enforced, the conditions under which it was made having disappeared. A promise was made but you proved too weak to have it enforced. That is the reason why it was not enforced. The bureaucracy got the upper hand and they established a system of administration in which it made

it impossible for the proclamation to be acted up to Lord Curzon poohpooed it. Another lawyer said it was unconstitutional because it was not passed by Parliament. His name was Sir James Stephen. This was at the time of the Ilbert Bill. They want now to explain away that proclamation. Is Mr Morley going to fulfil it? The explanation of the proclamation is not the question. The question is what will compel him to fulfil it. This is the point at issue. I admit that we must ask, but we must ask with the consciousness that the demand cannot be refused. There is great difference between asking and petitioning. Take the *Age of Consent Bill*, the Land Tax, the Tenancy Question. Whenever there was a grievance we used to hold meetings, make petitions, representations and complaints in the Press and once the decision of Cæsar was known everything was silent and we accepted it loyally. Such is the experience of the Government and this is what I believe they wrote to Mr Morley relating to the partition question. They have probably told Mr Morley that if he remained quiet for a short time everything would be right. The present howl is due to a few agitators, and when sufficient time has elapsed the agitation will subside and the partition will be accepted. We know the people of India better than you do. We have ruled over them and we intend to rule over them and if our experience is worth anything we advise

you not to yield to their clamorous agitation." Mr. Morley's counsellors are Anglo-Indians, they placed this before Mr. Morley. He thinks that such consensus of opinion, administrative experience, it is impossible to over-ride. Philosopher or no philosopher, he thinks that the administrative duties require it, and he does it as honestly as any other man in the world. This is then how the matter stands. The new party wishes to put a stop to this. We have come forward with a scheme which, if you accept, shall better enable you to remedy this state of things than the scheme of the old school. Your industries are ruined utterly, ruined by foreign rule; your wealth is going out of the country and you are reduced to the lowest level which no human being can occupy. In this state of things, is there any other remedy by which you can help yourself? The remedy is not petitioning but boycott. We say prepare your forces, organise your power, and then go to work so that they cannot refuse you what you demand. A story in *Mahabharata* tells that Sri Krishna was sent to effect a compromise, but the Pandavas and Kauravas were both organising their forces to meet the contingency of failure of a compromise. This is politics. Are you prepared in this way to fight if your demand is refused? If you are, be sure you will not be refused; but if you are not, nothing can be more certain than that your demand will be refused, and

perhaps, for ever. We are not armed, and there is no necessity for arms either. We have a stronger weapon a political weapon in boycott. We have perceived one fact that the whole of this administration which is carried on by a handful of Englishmen, is carried on with our assistance. We are all in subordinate service. The whole Government is carried on with our assistance and they try to keep us in ignorance of our power of co operation between ourselves by which that which is in our own hands at present can be claimed by us and administered by us. The point is to have the entire control in our hands. I want to have the key of my house and not merely one stranger turned out of it. Self Government is our goal. we want a control over our administrative machinery. We don't want to become clerks and willing instruments of our own oppression in the hands of an alien Government, and that Government is ruling over us not by its innate strength but by keeping us in ignorance and blindness to the perception of this fact. Professor Seely shares this view. Every Englishman knows that they are a mere handful in this country and it is the business of every one of them to befooled you in believing that you are weak and they are strong. This is politics. We have been deceived by such policy so long. What the new party wants you to do is to realise the fact that your future rests entirely in your own hands. If you mean to be

free, you can be free, if you do not mean to be free, you will fall and be for ever fallen. So many of you need not like arms; but if you have not the power of active resistance, have you not the power of self-denial and self-abstinence in such a way as not to assist this foreign Government to rule over you? This is boycott and this is what is meant when we say, boycott is a political weapon. We shall not give them assistance to collect revenue and keep peace. We shall not assist them in fighting beyond the frontiers or outside India with Indian blood and money. We shall not assist them in carrying on the administration of justice. We shall have our own courts, and when time comes we shall not pay taxes. Can you do that by your united efforts? If you can, you are free from to-morrow. Some gentlemen who spoke this evening referred to half bread as against the whole bread. I say I want the whole bread and that immediately. But if I cannot get the whole, don't think that I have no patience.

I will take the half they give me and then try for the remainder. This is the line of thought and action in which you must train yourself. We have not raised this cry from a mere impulse. It is a reasoned impulse. Try to understand that reason and try to strengthen that impulse by your logical convictions. I do not ask you to blindly follow us. Think over the whole problem for yourselves. If

you accept our advice, we feel sure we can achieve our salvation thereby. This is the advice of the new party. Perhaps we have not obtained a full recognition of our principles. Old prejudices die very hard. Neither of us wanted to wreck the Congress, so we compromised, and were satisfied that our principles were recognised, though only to a certain extent. That does not mean that we have accepted the whole situation. We may have a step in advance next year so that within a few years our principles will be recognised and recognised to such an extent that the generations who come after us may consider us Moderates. This is the way in which a nation progresses. This is the way national sentiment progresses and this is the lesson you have to learn from the struggle now going on. This is a lesson of progress a lesson of helping yourself as much as possible, and if you really perceive the force of it, if you are convinced by these arguments, then and then only is it possible for you to effect your salvation from the alien rule under which you labour at this moment.

There are many other points but it is impossible to exhaust them all in an hour's speech. If you carry any wrong impression come and get your doubts solved. We are prepared to answer every objection solve every doubt and prove every statement. We want your co-operation without your help we cannot do anything single-handed. We

beg of you, we appeal to you, to think over the question, to see the situation, and realise it, and after realising it to come to our assistance, and by our joint assistance to help in the salvation of the country.

SPEECH AT BELGAUM.

The speech below was delivered immediately after the meeting held under the auspices of Historical Research Society on the 1st of May 1916. Rajamanya Rajeshri Dada Sahib Khaparde presided : —

“ When I was requested to deliver a lecture here to-day, I did not know what to lecture about. I do not stand before you to-day in any way prepared for any particular subject. I had come for the conference. Thinking that it would not be out of place if I were to say a few words to you about those subjects which were discussed during the past few days and about the object with which a Home Rule League was established here before the Congress, I have selected that subject for to-day's lecture.

“ What is *Swarajya* ? Many have a misconception about this. Some do not understand this. Some understanding it, misrepresent it. Some do not want it. Thus there are many kinds of people.

I am not prepared to-day to enter into any particular discussion of any sort beyond saying a few general words on the following among other points. What is *Swarajya*? Why do we ask for it? Are we fit for it or not? In what manner must we make this demand for *Swarajya* of those of whom we have to make it? In what direction and on what lines are we to carry on the work which we have to carry on? It is not the case that these general words which I am going to say are the outcome of my effort and exertion alone. The idea of *Swarajya* is an old one. Of course when *Swarajya* is spoken of it shows that there is some kind of rule opposed to *Swarajya* : i. e. ours and that this idea originates at that time. This is plain. When such a condition arrives it begins to be thought that there should be *Swarajya* and men make exertions for that purpose. You are at present in that sort of condition. Those who are ruling over you do not belong to your religion, race or even country. The question whether this rule of the English Government is good or bad is one thing. The question of one's own and alien is quite another. Do not confuse the two at the outset. When the question 'alien or one's own' comes we must say alien. When the question 'good or bad?' comes we may say good or we may say bad. If you say bad then what is the improvement that must be made in it?—this question is different. If you say good

it must be seen what good there is under it which was not under the former rule. These are different points of view. Formerly there were many kingdoms in our India—in some places there was Mahomedan rule, in some places there was Rajput rule, in some places there was Hindu rule and in some places there was Maratha rule—were these *Swarajyas* good or bad? I again remind you that this is a question different from our theme. We shall consider it afterwards. All other rules being broken up, the universal sovereignty of the English Government has been established in India. To-day we have not to consider the history of other's downfall. We have also not to consider how they fell. Nor am I going to speak about that. Let us turn to the present system of administration. Some able men who have been educated in England and have received college education there come to India and the State administration of India is carried on through them. 'Emperor' is a word. When you give a visible form to the sentiment which arises in your mind at the mention of the word *Raja* i. e., king, there is the present Emperor. This sentiment itself is invisible. When a visible form is given to this invisible something there is the King—the Emperor. But the Emperor does not carry on the administration. The question of *Swarajya* is not about the Emperor, not about this invisible sentiment. This must be remembered at the outset.

Let there be any country it must have a king, it must have some men to carry on its management and there must be exercised some sort of rule in it. The case of anarchical nations is different. These nations can never rise. As in a house there must be some one to look to its management—when there is no man belonging to the house an outsider is brought in as a trustee—just so is the case also with a kingdom. In every country there is a certain body for carrying on its administration and there is some sort of arrangement. An army must be made of both these things viz., of this arrangement and this body and as stated yesterday by the President (the President of the Provincial Conference) of the sentiment of 'king. There must be a king there must be State administration. Both these propositions are true from the historical point of view. Of a country where there is no order where there is no king that is where there is no supervising body, the *Mahabharata* says. A wise man should not live even for a moment at that place. There is no knowing when, at that place, our lives may be destroyed when our wealth may be stolen when our house may be dacoited nay set fire. There must be a government. I will not say at length what there was in the Kṛitayuga in ancient times. The people of that time did not require a king. Every one used to carry on business looking only to material good. Our Puranas

say that there was once a condition when there was no king. But if we consider whether such a state existed in historical times it will appear that such a condition did not exist. There must be some control or other. Control cannot be exercised always by all people assembling together at one place. Hence, sovereign authority is always divided into two parts: one the Advisory body, and the other the executive body. The question about *Swarajya* which has now arisen in India is not about the said invisible sentiment. This question is not about those who are to rule over us, (and) according to whose leadership, by whose order and under whose guidance, that rule is to be exercised. It is an undisputed fact that we should secure our own good under the rule of the English people themselves, under the supervision of the English nation, with the help of the English nation, through their sympathy, through their anxious care and through those high sentiments which they possess. And I have to say nothing about this (cheers). Note this first. Do not create confusion in your minds by confounding both the aspects. These two aspects are quite distinct. What we have to do we must do with the help of some one or another, since to-day we are in such a helpless condition. It is an undoubted fact that we must secure our good under protection. Had it not been for that, your independence would never have gone. If we take for granted that we

have to bring about the dawn of our good with the help of the English Government and the British Empire then one more strange thing which some people see in this will altogether disappear. To speak in other words, there is no sedition in this. If then with the help of the English Government—if the words invisible English Government, be used for the words English Government there would be no mistake—if with the help of this invisible English Government, you are to bring about the dawn of your good fortune then, what is it that you ask? This second question arises. The answer to it again lies in the very distinction of which I spoke to you. Though a Government may be invisible still when it begins to become visible the management of that kingdom is carried on by its hands and by its actions. This state of being visible is different from invisible Government. If you ask how I say in the same manner as the great *Brahma* is different from *Maya*. I have taken the word visible and invisible from *Vedanta* (Philosophy). The great *Brahma* which is without attributes and form is different and the visible form which it assumes when it begins to come under the temptation of *Maya* is different. Hence these dealings which are due to *Maya* are sure to change. What is the characteristic of *Maya*? It changes every moment. One Government will remain permanent (viz.) invisible Government and the visible

Government changes every moment. The word *Swarajya* which has now arisen relates to visible Government. Maintaining the invisible Government as one, what change, if effected in the momentarily changing visible Government, would be beneficial to our nation? This is the question of *Swarajya*. And this being the question of *Swarajya*, there arises the further question: In whose hands should be the administration carried on in our India? We do not wish to change the invisible Government—English Government. We say that the administration should not be in the hands of a visible entity by whose hands this invisible Government is getting work done, but should pass into some other's hands. The *Swarajya* agitation which is now carried on is carried on in the belief that this administration if carried on by some other hands or with the help of some one else, or by some other visible form would be more beneficial to the people than when carried on by those by whose hand it is now carried on. Let us take a parallel. There is an Emperor in England. An English Act contains the rule that the king commits no wrong. The king never commits a wrong (offence). His authority is limited in such a manner that he has always to be advised by a minister. The Prime Minister acts on his own responsibility. There may be a good many people here who have studied English history. This is the chief principle in the

British constitution When this principle was established in English History, the number of sedition cases began to fall Here in India we have the administrators instituting cases of sedition Those who carry on the administration are different and the king is different. The king is one and the same But the minister changes every five years It would not be sedition if any were to start a discussion advocating a change of ministry It happens every day before the eyes of the English people The king's ministers go out of office after five years, go out of office after two years they may quarrel among themselves as they like What is that to the king He is the great *Brahma* without attributes? He is not affected by this The *Swarajya* agitation now existing in India is then about change in such a ministry Who rules in India? Does the Emperor come and do it? He is to be taken in procession like a god on a great occasion we are to manifest our loyalty towards him This is our duty Through whom, then is the administration carried on It is carried on through those who are now servants (*viz*) the State Secretary Viceroy Governor, and below him the Collector the Patel and lastly the Police sepoy If it be said that one Police sepoy should be transferred and another Police sepoy should be appointed would that constitute sedition? If it be said that the Collector who has come is not wanted and

that another is wanted, would that constitute sedition? If it be said that one Governor is not wanted, another Governor should be appointed, would that constitute sedition? If it be said 'This State Secretary is not wanted, bring another' would that constitute sedition? Nobody has called this sedition. The same principle which is applicable to a Police sepoy is also applicable to the State Secretary. We are the subjects of the same king whose Minister the State Secretary is and whose servant he is. This then being so, if any one were to say, 'the State Secretary is not wanted, Fuller Saheb is not wanted in Bengal,—such resolutions have often been passed in the case of Governors, not in the present but in the past time—and were to give reasons for that, you may say about him that his head must have been turned and that the reasons he gives are not good or sufficient. But from the historical point of view, it does not follow that when he says so, that constitutes sedition (cheers). Our demand belongs to the second class. It is concerned with *Swarajya*. Consider well what I say. If you think that the present administration is carried on well, then I have nothing to say. In the Congresses and Conferences that are now held you come and say: 'Our Kulkarni Vatan has been taken (away), zulum has been exercised upon us in connection with the Forest Department, liquor has spread more in connection with the Abkari

Department, also we do not receive that sort of education which we ought to get. What is at the root of all this? What is the benefit of merely saying this? Why do you not get education? Why are shops of the Ahkari Department opened where we do not want them? In the Forest Department, laws about reserved forests and about forest of this sort or of that sort are made. Why were they made? At present, lists upon lists of grievances come before the Congress. Why was jury abolished against your will? Why was no college opened in the Karnatic up to this time? All these questions are of such a kind that there is but one answer to them. At present what do we do. Is there no College?—petition to the Collector or to the Governor, because he has power in his hands. If this power had come into your hands if you had been the officials in their place or if their authority had been responsible to the public opinion these things would not have happened. No other answer than this can be given to the above. These things happen because there is no authority in your hands. The authority to decide these matters is not given to you for whose good this whole arrangement is to be made. Hence we have to ask like children. The child cries when it is hungry. It cannot say that it is hungry. The mother has to find out whether it is hungry or has a bellyache. Sometimes the remedies used prove out of place. Such

has become our condition at present. In the first place you do not at all know what you want and where lies your difficulty. When you know it, you begin to speak. You have no power in your hands to cause things to be done according to your desire. Such being the condition, what has happened now? Whatever you have to do, whatever you want—if you want to dig a well in your house—you have to petition to the Collector. If you want to kill a tiger in the forest you have to petition to the Collector. Grass cannot be obtained, wood cannot be obtained from the forest freely, permission to cut grass is required—petition the Collector. All this is a helpless state. We do not want this arrangement. We want some better arrangement than this. That is *Swarajya*, that is Home Rule. These questions do not arise in the beginning. When a boy is young he knows nothing. When he grows up he begins to know and then begins to think that it would be very good if the management of the household was carried on at least to some extent according to his wish. Just so it is with a nation. When it is able to consider for itself, when it acquires the capacity of considering for itself, that the question is likely to arise. Let us give up the thought about the invisible Government, let us come within the limits of the visible Government. We then see that the people who make this arrangement, who carry on the administration, are appointed

in England according to certain law, and rules are made within the limits of those laws as to what should be their policy. These rules may be good or bad. They may be good, they may be quite well arranged and methodical. I do not say that they are not. But however good may be the arrangement made by other people, still he who wants to have the power to make his own arrangement is not likely always to approve. This is the principle of *Swarajya*. If you have the powers to select your Collector it cannot be said with certainty that he would do any more work than the present Collector. Perhaps he may not do. He may even do it badly. I admit this. But the difference between this and that is this: this one is selected by us, he is our man, he sees how we may remain pleased while the other thinks thus: what we think to be good must appear so to others: what is there with respect to which we should listen to others. I am so much educated, I get so much pay, I possess so much ability—why should I do anything which would be harmful to others? The only answer is: Because you have such conceit. (Laughter.) It is only the wearer that knows where the shoe pinches. Others cannot know. This is the only cause. There is no other cause. Hence if you minutely consider the various complaints which have arisen in our country, it will appear that the system which is subsisting now is not wanted.

by us. Not that we do not want the king, nor that we do not want the English Government, nor that we do not want the Emperor. We want a particular sort of change in the system according to which this administration is carried on and I for one do not think that if that change were made there would arise any danger to the English rule. But there is reason to think that some people whose spectacles are different from ours see it, because they say so (cheers). Hence the minds of many people are now directed to the question as to what change should be effected in the system to fit in English Rule with the popular will. We make minor demands, *viz*, remove the liquor shop in a certain village named Ghodegoan; they say it should not be removed. Done. We say reduce the salt tax, they say we look to the amount of revenue derived from the salt duty. If the tax is reduced, how should the revenue be managed? He who has to make the arrangement of administration has to do these things. When I ask for the authority to manage my household affairs, I do not say, give me the income which you obtain and spend it not. We ourselves have to earn and we ourselves must expend. This is the sort of double responsibility which we want. Then we shall see what we have to do. This is the claim at present. Bureaucrats come and say, 'Act according to our wishes', on the other hand we say, 'Act according to our wishes

so that all our grievances may be removed. We know that sometimes a boy obstinately asks for a cap worth 25 rupees from his father. Had he been in his father's place it is very doubtful whether he would have paid 25 rupees for the cap or not. The father refuses but the boy is grieved at the time. And why is he grieved at it? Because he does not understand because the management is not in his own hands. If he had he would know. In like manner the introduction of self administration is beneficial to India. We want this thing to-day. When this one thing is obtained the remaining things will come into our possession of themselves. This is at the root of the thousands of demands which we are making. When we get this key into our hands we can open not only one but 5 or 10 doors at once. Such is the present question. In order that the attention of all may be directed to this question this Home Rule League was established here the other day. Some will be grieved at it. I do not deny it. Every one is grieved. It was said here some time back that when a boy is a minor the father when dying appoints a *panch*. The *panch* when appointed supervises the whole of the estate. Some benefit does accrue. This is not denied. Afterwards when the boy has grown up he sees that there is something wrong in this arrangement. 'I must acquire the right of management then I shall carry on better management than

this, he says to himself. He is confident. It may not be that he actually carries on the management as well. If he be a prodigal, he may squander away his father's money. But he thinks he must manage his own affairs. In order to avoid any opposition the law lays down the limitation that on the boy's completing 21 years age, the trustee should cease his supervision and give it into the boy's possession. This rule which we observe in every day life applies equally also to the nation. When the people in the nation become educated and begin to know how they should manage their affairs, it is quite natural for them that they themselves should claim to manage the affairs which are managed for them by others. But the amusing thing in the history of politics is that the above law about 21 years has no existence in it. Even if we may somehow imagine a law enjoining that when a nation has been educated for a hundred years it should be given the right to administer itself it is not possible to enforce such a law. The people themselves must get the law enforced. They have a right to do so. There must be some such arrangement here. Formerly there was some better arrangement to a little extent. Such an arrangement does not exist now. And therein lies the reason of all our demands, of the grievances which we have, the wants which we feel and the inconveniences which we notice in the administration. And

the remedy, which is proposed after making inquiries is called Home Rule. Its name is *Swarajya*. To put it briefly the demand that the management of our affairs should be in our hands is the demand for *Swarajya*. Many people have at present objections to this. I merely gave the definition in order to make the subject clear. The people on the other side always misrepresent it. If there be no mistake in the logical reasoning of what I have now said how will any mistake arise unless some part of it is misrepresented? Hence those people who want to point out a mistake misrepresent some sentences out of this and find fault with them saying this is such a thing this is such a thing. It is not the duty of a wise man to impute those things to us which we never demand at all to censure us and ridicule us before the people. Need I say more about this? (Cheers.) If any one of you has such a misconception let him give it up. At least remember that what I tell you is highly consistent. It is in accordance with logical science. It agrees with history. I said that king means invisible king or Government—this is no offence whatever. There are deities between! Very often God does not get angry these deities get angry without reason! We must first settle with them. So if there has been any misconception let it be removed. All I have said is for that purpose. Now I tell you the nature of our demand. Even before that, let us consider o

little the question whether we are fit for carrying on the administration or not. Some time ago I gave you the instance of *panch* and their ward. There generally it happens that as the boy grows up more and more, those who think that the management should not pass into his hands report, one that his head has now begun to turn, another that he is not mad but that he appears to be half mad and so on. The reason of this is that the management should remain in their own hands for a couple of years more. A third says 'True, you may give authority into his hands, but do you know that he has got bad habits?' These people say five or ten things about him. What is to be gained by doing this? The dispute goes before the Court and then they get him adjudged mad. Some thing like this has now begun to happen here. To give authority into people's hands is the best principle of administration. No one disputes this; because the same thing is going on in the country of those officials who are here. When they go there they have to advocate the same principle. Therefore no one says that this historical principle is bad. Then what is bad? They distinctly say that the Indians are not to-day fit for *Swarajya* (laughter), and some of us are like the cunning men in the story occurring in the Panchatantra. That story is as follows; A villager had come taking a sheep on his head. One man said to him 'There is a she-goat on your

head. A second said 'There is a dog on your head. A third one said quite a third thing. The villager threw away the sheep. The men took it away. Our condition is like that. The story relates to human nature. There are among us people who are just like them. Why are we not fit? Because fitness has not been created in us. We have not done it, our parents have not done it. We have not got such powers. But the Government has given you some powers in the Council. Sinha and Chaubal are in the Council. In the Executive Councils of other places also there are selected people. When these people were selected for appointment, did any one ever say 'We are not fit, do not give us the post'? No one said it. (Cheers.) What then is the use of saying so to our meeting? I should concede these people were speaking true if when the bureaucracy actually confers some great powers on them they stand up and say 'We do not want them, we are not fit for them,—the Brahmmins alone must come and perform Shraddha at our house, we cannot perform it. I think that those men who say things because such and such a person would like or would not like and bring forward excuses for that purpose exhibit their own nature. (cheers.) Why are we not fit? Have we no nose, no eyes, no ears, no intellect? Can we not write? Have we not read books? Can we not ride a horse? Why are we not fit? As a Jew in'

one of Shakespeare's dramas asked, I ask you what have we not? You have not discharged work. If it is not given at all, when are you to discharge it? (Cheers.) Has it ever happened that we did not do work when it was given? No one did say, we are unfit, do not appoint us. You appoint them. 'You get work done by them' and afterwards it is also announced in a Government resolution. 'He has done his duty and so on.' If we go further we may ask 'You bring from England quite a new man of twenty-one years. What can he do? Has he any experience at all? He comes all at once and straight away becomes Assistant Collector, and becomes the superior of a Mamlatdar though the latter be sixty years old. What is the comparison? (cheers). Is sixty years' experience of no value? A man of twenty one years comes and begins to teach you. Generally he makes this Mamlatdar of sixty years stand before him. He does not give him even a chair for sitting, and this poor man stands before him with joined hands because he has to get Rs 150, 200, or 400 (cheers). How then is the Sahab to acquire experience, how is he to become fit, and how is the work to go on? Has any one thought about this? Had it been true that the people of India are not fit for *Swarajya* and that they would not be able to keep their kingdom in good order, then Hindus and Mahomedans would never have governed kingdoms in this country in

ancient times. Formerly there were no kingdoms in this country. There were administrators. The proof of this is that before the advent of the English Government in this country there was at least some order, there was no disorder everywhere, any man did not kill another. Since there existed such order, how can it be said that the people are not fit for self rule. To-day science has made progress, knowledge has increased, and experience has accumulated in one place. We must have more liberty than before, and we must have become fitter. On the contrary it is said we are not fit. Whatever might have been the case in former times this allegation is utterly false now. Better say we shall not give you. What I say is, don't apply the words not fit to us. At least we shall know that we are not really to be given. We shall get it. But why do we not get it? It is indirectly said that we are not fit. They say it is to teach us that they have come here. This is admitted. But how long will you teach us? We ask. (Laughter) For one generation, two generations or three generations! Is there any end to this? Set some limit. You came to teach us. When we appoint a teacher at home for a boy we ask him within how many days he would teach him—whether in 10, 20 or 25 days within two months, within four months. But if the study which should take six months for the boy to finish would, he were to say contrary to our

expectation, take one year, we tell him you are useless, go, we shall appoint another teacher (cheers). This applies to all people alike. Our officers have control over the people's education and it is their duty to improve them this duty points one way, their attempts point another way They say that whatever attempts they make it is impossible for the people to become fit for work We say our people are men like you, as wise as you You take them in service, get work done by them, your strictness is proverbial. What is going on in the *Khalsa* territory? There is no obstruction in the management. Is it obstructed in Mysore? Who are doing the work? The king of Mysore is a Hindu, the minister is a Hindu, the subjects are Hindus, the lower officers are Hindus. They carry on the administration of such a large kingdom as Mysore, but it is said that the people of the two districts beyond Mysore cannot it on in that manner. (Laughter, cheers) There are six districts in the Mysore territory, hence it is like saying that six are fit and eight are not fit. There is fitness in us beyond any doubt (cheers). You may then, we say, for some reason admit it or not. Well. What authority is there for thinking that we possess fitness? I pointed to a Native State. I tell you another thing. Keep yourself aloof for ten years and see whether it can be done or not (cheers, laughter). If it cannot be done take us under your

control after ten years (cheers) You are free to do so This too, is not to be done There is no *Swarajya* There is no *Swarajya* What does it mean? What do we ask for? Do we say Drive away the English Government? But I ask what is it to the Emperor? Does the Emperor lose anything whether the administration is carried on by a civil servant or by our Belva Sahib? (Cheers) The rule still remains The Emperor still remains The difference would be that the white servant who was with him would be replaced by a black servant (cheers) From whom then does this opposition come? This opposition comes from those people who are in power It does not come from the Emperor From the Emperor's point of view there is neither anarchy nor want of loyalty nor sedition in this What does *Rajadroha* (sedition) mean? Hatred of the king Does King mean a police sepoy? (Laughter) I said some time back that this distinction must first be made. Otherwise if tomorrow you say remove the police sepoy it would constitute sedition Such is the belief of police sepoy (laughter) In the same manner go a little further and you will see that the demand made by us is right proper just and in conformity with human nature. Other nations have done what we are doing It has not been done only in our country *Swarajya swarajya*—what does it mean? Not

that you do not want the English rule. There is the mistake at the root. Some one has some object in perpetuating it. It is served out by men whose interest lies in deceiving you. Do not care for it at all.

‘ If you think that you are men like other men, that is enough. When our objectors go to England their intellect and they are put to the test there. Therein we stand higher. What then is trotted out? They say your intellect may be good, but you do not possess character, courage and other qualities. Their character, I admit for a ghatka (24 minutes) the absence of that particular character. But it does not follow that we cannot acquire it (laughter). How can such character be developed in men whose life is spent in service and in service alone? Can it be said of any person—He worked as a clerk for 25 years, wrote on the cover the Saheb’s orders, obtained the Saheb’s signature thereon and thus he acquired the necessary character after 25 years.—Even if some truth is presumed in such a statement yet he will at first find it difficult to do responsible work. This is not denied. But when the system under which such men are, has disappeared, it cannot be said that men would not become fit in the next generation. Hence in my opinion we are fit for *Swarajya*. I shall now briefly tell you what we wish to obtain and what we should demand and then conclude my speech.

" You know what Indian administration is. It must be noted that it is carried on in accordance with a particular law. Its rules are fixed. What are the powers of the Secretary of State? What are the powers of the Governor General? They define. There are three great parts of the system. The Secretary of State is in England. The Governor General is at Delhi in India. Under him there is a Governor for every Presidency. For the present let us omit those under him. But the main system is of the above triple character. Let us begin to consider each. Who appoints the Secretary of State? Not we. This is a heritage from the Company's government. When there was the East India Company's rule in this country all matters were carried on in the interests of trade. The whole attention was directed towards the question how might the Company's shareholders obtain considerable profit. the Company's Directors were in the place of the present Secretary of State. You might say that it was a contract given for governing the entire kingdom. You know for instance under the Peshwa's rule Mamlatdar's offices were given away under a contract. This Indian administration was as it were according to the then law of Government, a trade carried on by the East India Company. They were to derive from it as much profit as possible. The company's directors were to be in England. The attention of

the administration was directed to the fact that profit was to be given to the Directors, *i.e.*, shareholders. A letter used to come to the Governor-General here to this effect — 'So much profit must be paid to us this year Realise it and send it to us.' This was the administration The people's good was not considered under it. It was the story of the milk-man and his cows. If the cows did not yield sufficient milk, he says fill the pot with water The administration of India was carried on like that. Subsequently it appeared after discussion that this administration was not good. And when Queen Victoria—you may say the Parliament—took the administration into their own hands, they did not approve of this trading system. Therefore they took it into their hands This was alright However the system of administration was modelled on the policy which was in existence when the administration was assumed (by the Parliament) and under which the Directors were masters in England and their servants were masters here. The State Secretary has come in the place of the Directors. The Governor-General has come in the place of their Governor Thus what was done? The Sovereign—the Parliament—took the administration into their hands, but the establishment of employees which then existed has remained just as before. This happened in 1858 after the mutiny. From that time to this

the administration of India has been carried on in accordance with rules and arrangements formed as a heritage of the Company's policy. If the power had really to go to the sovereign this modelling after the policy of the Company should have disappeared. He is the King and we are his subjects. It is his duty to rule for the good of the subjects. And an arrangement should have been made in accordance with the rules—lawful—that may be included in that duty. But the arrangement was made thus—the Directors disappeared, the Secretary of State stepped into their shoes as the final authority. Who is to decide how much money is to be spent in India and what taxes are to be imposed? The State Secretary. Such powers are not placed in the Governor General's hands. He is the chief officer. The Governors are under him. They are servants. There are other servants under them. And the entire administration must be carried on with the consent of and in consultation with and with the advice of this State Secretary. Such is the present policy. What has happened gradually. It has continued but a commercial policy. Though the rule went into the hands of the Queen's Government and though they issued a great proclamation the policy of the administration is out on the lines of that proclamation. It is in accordance with the trading Company's policy, the administration of the Kingdom is in accordance with the Company's

policy. So the proclamation has had no effect. (Laughter, cheers.) Such was the arrangement. At the time our people did not know it I believe, that if education had spread as much as it is now, the people would have contended that since the Queen had taken the reins of Government into her own hands, the administration of the kingdom should, as regards the sovereign and the subjects, be for the good of the subjects. Our people would then have told that the arrangement made by the Company was simply for its own benefit, and that a change must be made in that policy—in that arrangement. Such contention did come. The people have now contended for many years. To put the matter very briefly, Mr Dadabhai Naoroji (cheers), who is one of those living persons who clearly saw and pointed out the defects, began this work. How did he begin? He said ‘What is the difference between the Company’s system and this system? We do not see any in it. The rules are all made in accordance with the Company’s policy. Are the people likely to derive any benefit from them?’ Then came the Legislative councils. They were such that the Governor-General was to appoint them. Originally the members were not to be elected by the people. Gradually your men became members of the Municipality and of the Legislative Council. Still the final keys are in the hands of the authorities. Discussion may be held in the

Legislative Council They say You have full liberty to hold a discussion You may hold a discussion about spending the money in this country But we shall decide whether it should be so spent or not. Exert yourself mentally and vocally as much as you can we have no objection to it. Be awake throughout the night prepare your speeches 'Instead of printing them in a newspaper we shall publish them in the Bombay Government Gazette This is the result Nothing is hereby gained Hope is held out, no doubt. There is a *shloka* (stanza) in the *Mahabharat* which says hope should be made dependent upon time Our friends say, 'Rights are to be given to you when you become fit We do not wish to remain in India. When you become fit we shall give the bundle into your possession and go to England by the next English steamer (cheers) Very well A time limit should be laid down We shall give in two years We shall give in ten years It did come afterwards Time should be coupled with obstacles Ten years were mentioned These days passed and were very wearisome We are obliged to make them fifteen was the next Hope and time should be coupled with an obstacle. The obstacle came You yourselves must have brought it was the retort. We did not bring it We were awaiting good time. Excuse should be coupled with it The excuse came How did it come? It is an excuse only

nothing can be said about it. Some cause should be shown. This is a sort of policy. When you do not mean to give, you cannot do otherwise. This policy does not find a place in the modern works on morality and politics. Only, the old tradition has continued. Thus this bureaucracy has been cajoling us. For the last 5 or 50 years the State Secretary and the Governor-General too have been cajoling us in this manner—have kept us afloat. As soon as you proceed to make some noise, it is said there were five members, to-morrow we shall make them six. What do we benefit by raising the number from five to six? One of our men has merely to waste his time there for nothing for a while (cheers). There is no more advantage than that. If you object to six they say we make them eight. We raise 10 to 12, if necessary. (Laughter and cheers.) The people are already convinced that this matter cannot be disposed of in this manner. Whatever rights you may give, give them to us absolutely, however great you may keep your own powers. Take for instance, the management of the Educational Department. Most of the subordinate servants are from among us only. There is a Saheb at the head. Why is he kept there? With a view to restrain their mouths and the scope of the intellect. Even if 20 years' service be put in by the next subordinate, work cannot be done without the Saheb. That poor man actually begins to say so

It is such men that are prepared I shall present to you two points of view When a gardener is asked to prepare a garden just here beyond this place he wants flower pots When big forests are to be prepared under the Forest Department pots are not required Bags of seed are brought and emptied Trees grow everywhere to any extent Some of them grow small some big The present arrangement is that of the gardener Owing to this arrangement the trees amongst us do not grow Nay care is taken that what are planted in pots look pretty so that flowers can be reared and plucked by the hand We are educated in such a way that such pretty plants may grow In such a manner is our man treated and made to work And then after 25 or 30 years are past, he begins to say, 'I am really not fit for this work We do not want this system We want the English Government We want to remain under the sway of this rule But we do not want the State Secretary who has been treated a son in law (cheers) We want at least *our men* men elected by us in his Council This is the first reform that must be made. In like manner the decision as to who is to expend India's revenues how much money is to be collected and how many taxes are to be imposed should rest in our hands (Cheers) We say there must not be those taxes They say how can the expenditure be met? That we will see afterwards We know

this much. Expenditure is to be proportionate to the money we have and that again has to be raised according to the expenditure undergone. We understand this. We will later see what arrangement should be made. The second principle of Home Rule is that these powers should be in the people's hands, in the hands of good men, *viz.*, in the hands of men elected by the people. At present a great war is going on in Europe. The Emperor does not decide how much money has to be spent on the war. Mr. Asquith decides it. If there is a complaint against the work done by Mr. Asquith, it goes before Parliament, and if Mr. Asquith has committed a mistake, he has to tender his resignation. Will it be sedition if he has to tender his resignation? There is the difference in the arrangement, there is the difference in the organisation, there is the difference in the system. And we are asking for a change to such a system. 'The rule will fall, the rule will go away'—these thoughts are utterly foreign to us, they do not come within our limits, our reach, our view. And we do not also wish it. I again say, if the nation is to get happiness, if the thousands of complaints that have arisen to-day are to be removed, then first of all, change this system of administration. There is a saying in Marathi. "Why did the horse become restive? Why did the betel-leaves rot? Why did the bread get burnt? There is one answer. 'For

want of turning. The leaves ought to have been turned the head ought to have been turned. Had the horse been turned, it would not have become restive. The root cause is here. Complaints about forests complaints about Ahkari complaints about Kolkari Vatoas have arisen because authority is not in our hands. To state it is slightly changed words—because we have not *Swarajya* (cheers). That we should have *Swarajya* for us is at the root of our demand we need not then dance to any body's tune. However this thing may happen even under *Swarajya*. I do not deny it. When we have deficiency of money and powers are placed in our hands we may increase the tax we increase it altogether voluntarily. Otherwise, whence is the expenditure to be met? But as it will be increased voluntarily it will not oppress our minds. Here is the right door. We are passing through it. When we are passing through it, learned aliens may tell us that we should not pass through it but take another door. We cannot change. If others come and obstruct we must give them a push and make our way. The very same is the case with *Swarajya*. The obstruction comes from the horeocracy. We do not want such obstruction. The demand for *Swarajya* is such that it has nothing to do with sedition. It has nothing to say against the Invisible Government. All domestic concerns should be

to do the work on less pay. More can be had. Then why give so much pay to them? We don't need it. We feel that we do not get to-day money for education. The excuse of no funds which is brought forward in connection with the execution of works of public utility will then disappear. Business will go on unobstructed just as at present. In the beginning it may not be so efficient. Perhaps it may be less by an anna in the rupee. Still the satisfactory thought that the business has been carried on by the people is of greater value. In this direction good management is to be asked for in administration. The present law must be amended. It is to be brought about through Parliament. We will not ask for it from others. We have not to get this demand complied with by petitioning France. The Allies may be there we have not to petition them. The petition is to be made to the English people to the English Parliament. The present state of things is to be placed before them. We have to do whatever may be required for this. If you carry on such an effort for five or twenty five years you will never fail to obtain its fruit. Moreover such a time has now arrived. On account of the war effort must be made as will increase the value of India. India's bravery India's courage and India's stability. If the fact that the nation itself is making this effort comes to the notice of the Government then there is hope of our demand soon

proving fruitful I have, therefore, purposely brought this subject before you. The subject is being discussed elsewhere also. The League which we have established for this purpose is such that I myself or some one else will have occasion to place the subject before the people at every place, if not to-day some days afterwards, for carrying on this work. Let this subject be always discussed by you. Always think about it, get its usefulness explained, and carefully consider how much of loyalty and how much of disloyalty is in it. This is all I have to tell you on the present occasion. Though what I have to say may be much more than this, still I have told you its substance in a brief manner. If the consideration of this be begun among you, be begun in Maharashtra, be begun in India, then some day or other this work will succeed, and even if the matter lies in God's hands still this is necessary. I admit that it does not lie in our hands. But the effect of action (*karma*) cannot fail to take its place in this world. The effect of action may not be obtained so soon as I say, may not be obtained before my eyes, perhaps I may not be benefited by it. But this action must have its fruit (cheers). According to the law of action, when a certain act is done, another results from it, and a third one results out of that. Such succession goes on. But do we ask at all that we should have

moksha before our eye? Again do we ask for it with the thought that we should have it in the hands of a certain person? Only just a little ago a Resolution was passed in our conference that the parties of Moderates and Nationalists are not wanted. That is to say it is the same to us to whomsoever *Swarajya* is given. There is no objection even if powers be given to your sepoy to-morrow. You may say how will the sepoy exercise such a great power? The sepoy is to die some day or other and then we will see (cheers). We want rights. We want a certain sort of Arrangement giving happiness. We will get it. Our children will get it. Make the effort that is to be made. Be ready to do this work with the thought that it belongs to you. I am sure that by the grace of God your next generation will not fail to obtain the fruit of this work though it may not be obtained in your life time (cheers)

THE NATIONAL DEMAND

The following resolution on Self Government was passed at the Calcutta Session of the National Congress —

This Congress expresses grateful satisfaction for the pronouncement made by His Majesty's

Secretary of State for India on behalf of the Imperial Government that its object is the establishment of Responsible Government in India. This Congress strongly urges the necessity of the immediate enactment of a Parliamentary Statute providing for the establishment of Responsible Government in India, the full measure to be attained within a time limit, to be fixed in the Statute itself, at an early date. This Congress is emphatically of opinion that the Congress-League Scheme of Reforms ought to be introduced by the Statute as the first step in the process."

In supporting the above resolution Mr. Tilak spoke as follows —

"I have not the eloquence of my friend Mr. Bannerji, nor of my friend Mr. Jinnah, nor the trumpet voice of Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal. Yet I have to do a duty, and I mean to place before you without any introduction a few facts in support of the resolution which has been so ably moved by the proposer, seconded by the Hon. Mr. Jinnah and certainly not amended but intended to be amended by my friend Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal. The resolution, as you all know, is about Self-Government or Home Rule for India. The first paragraph of it says 'This Congress expresses grateful satisfaction for the pronouncement made by His Majesty's Secretary of State for India on behalf of the

Imperial Government that its object is the establishment of Responsible Government in India. The speaker who preceded me—I mean Mr Bepin Chandra Pal—seems to think that it is not yet time to be grateful for the declaration of policy. To a certain extent I share in that view but at the same time, I cannot say that the wording of the resolution is not adequate. For gratitude as you know is defined by one of the best ethical writers of England to mean expectation of favours to come and grateful satisfaction translated in view of that definition means satisfaction at the pronouncement attended with an expectation that the later stages of it will come in course of time as early as possible. That is how I interpret 'grateful satisfaction'. I am satisfied for the present that a thing that was not pronounced before has been declared now and I hope at the same time may expect that it will be followed up by higher stages of development in time to come. All talk about further stages is out of place at present. What should be the first step is the point that I want you to understand. A very simple definition of Home Rule which any of you including a peasant can understand is that I should be in my own country what an Englishman feels to be in England and in the Colonies. The simplest definition is that, and that is the whole of it. All those bombastic phrases such as partnership in the Empire terms of equality etc. mean that I

want to be in my country not as outlander but as master in the same sense that an Englishman is a master in his own country and in the Colonies That is complete Home Rule, and if any one is going to grant it to-morrow, I shall be very glad for its introduction, for it will be Indian Home Rule granted all at once, but I see that it cannot be done. Some compromise has to be made with those who are not in our favour and with some of our friends. The British power in India was introduced by a compromise, by a Charter. In fact, the first step in a province which you have not conquered is always with consent and compromise, and what the first step should be is explained in this resolution. All talk about future progress, about the establishment of Responsible Government in the Provinces and afterwards in the Central Government is a very good talk with which I fully sympathise but which I am not prepared to demand as the first step of the introduction of Home Rule in India. That is the difference between myself and Mr Bepin Chandra Pal He wants the whole hog at once. I say it should be granted to you by stages demand the first step so that the introduction of the second step would be much more easy than it is at present The Government in the pronouncement has used the words "Responsible Government," not Home Rule or Self-Government. Mr. Montagu in the declaration and the Government of India in their

Proclamation have deliberately used the words Responsible Government unfortunately without defining it because Responsible Government as naturally understood means Executive Government responsible to the legislature But in one place in Mr Curtis's pamphlet I find that 'Responsible Government' is defined to be one where the legislature is subject to the executive You will see that it is quite necessary to define the words 'Responsible Government', otherwise words may be interpreted quite contrary to our intention and it may be said — 'We promise you Responsible Government but a Government where the legislature ought to be under the control of the Executive. And the more it is placed under the control of the Executive the more responsible it will become according to this! (Laughter) I must state frankly here that this is not the kind of Responsible Government that we want. We understand by the words Responsible Government a Government where the executive is entirely responsible to the Legislature call it Parliament or by any other name and that legislature should be wholly elected That is the Responsible Government that we want When I say that the Executive should be under the control of legislature I go so far as to say that even Governors and Lieutenant Governors must be elected by legislative bodies. That, however will be the final step But in the present circumstances I shall be quite

content, and so I think most of you will be content, if the first step that we demand is granted to you immediately, and Self-Government at an early date. And by 'early stages' I do not think that any sane man would understand to be anything which would be attained in fifty years, because a period extending to fifty years is not 'early'. Anything that exceeds the time of one generation is not 'early.' 'Early' means certainly in ordinary parlance ten or fifteen years. I should have liked that a definite number of years should have been introduced in this resolution. However, we do not lose much. I say that no sane man can understand 'early date' to mean other than ten or fifteen years. But some men thought that it would be rash to ask for Home Rule or Responsible Government in ten or fifteen years. It was dropped. Never mind. At any rate, the sense is there. I must draw your attention to the pronouncement made. What is it? It is that full Responsible Government or merely Responsible Government without any qualifications—that means the same thing—Responsible Government without any limiting qualifications will be granted to you in ten or fifteen years. That part of the answer given by Mr. Montagu we note with grateful satisfaction in the sense in which I have just explained it. There are certain other conditions. That pronouncement says that it will be granted to you by stages. We

also agree to it. The third part of the declaration is that these stages would be determined by the Government of India. We do not agree to that. We want the stages to be determined by us and not at the sweet will of the Executive. Nor do we want any compromise about it but insist on definite stages and the time to be fixed in the Act itself so that the whole scheme may work automatically. There we differ from the wording of the declaration; however it is not said here in so many words but the second paragraph of the resolution demands it. It demands a Parliamentary statute to be immediately passed definitely settling and fixing the time when the goal is to be reached not leaving it to the Government of India to determine when and at what circumstances and in what stages they will grant full Responsible Government to us. definite time should be named in the statute which will be passed about the subject very soon. So the second part of the resolution is practically a suggested modification of the declaration about which we have expressed our grateful satisfaction in the first part of the resolution. In the third paragraph of the resolution we stick to what was passed last year at Lucknow both by the Congress and the Muslim League. It has been said that that scheme is objectionable and that after a year's experience we should have modified it at this Congress. I hold a different view. I am glad that we all hold the same view

(A cry of 'no,' 'no.') That will be determined when we take the votes. If we unanimously pass the resolution it may be that I shall be speaking for you when you pass the resolution without a dissentient voice. I hold that the Congress League scheme is the minimum which might be granted to us to satisfy our aspirations at present and to make a decent beginning in the introduction of Home Rule in India. I tell you why. There have been a number of schemes suggested at various places in India by Congress men and non-Congress men, by Muslim League men and non-Muslim League men and by backward and forward classes as they call themselves and by other different communities, and all these representations have been sent up to the Secretary of State. What do you find if you analyse them? The majority of them say that they approve of the Congress-League scheme but they want something more, and if you take votes, you have all the votes for the Congress League scheme and one vote for each scheme in the country. I say that that itself is an indication that the Congress League scheme is approved all over the country and we are not going to take from it an inch. It has been said that the Government is prepared to grant to you Responsible Government but that you do not ask for it because the Congress-League scheme does not make Executive removable at the pleasure of the legislature. It cannot be technically said to be

responsible. The pronouncement is that "Responsible Government" will be granted to you, that it should be granted to you by stages so that the first stage also must have something of Responsible Government. I do not think that that argument is right. The Government meaning is that one stage will be Municipal and Local the second stage is provincial and the last stage is Central Government. That is not the meaning that I attach to it. I say that the Congress League scheme does not provide for the removal of the Executive at the will of the legislature true, but it gives you all the control over the Executive. We say that the Executive should be under the control of the legislature and that four fifths of the legislative body should be elected. What does it mean? It means that the legislature which the Congress League scheme demands will not be fully responsible in the sense of being able to remove the Executive but it can transfer the Executive. If the Executive will not obey the legislature they may be transferred to some other post. Why should you ask that the Executive should be removed? Once the bureaucracy understands that they are responsible to the Legislative Councils they are wise enough. Intelligent enough to shape their future conduct accordingly they are not fools. A beginning of the responsibility is made. The Executive are held responsible and they must take their orders from elected

Legislative Councils. So, to say that the Congress-League scheme is not a beginning of Responsible Government is merely deceiving oneself and others by a use of words with which always wise and selfish men try to deceive the masses. The second objection urged against the Congress-League scheme is that it is better to begin from below, that it is better to build up from foundation, than to begin with the top, so that you must begin with your Municipality, gradually have District Boards under your control, then bring Provincial Governments under your control and then the Central Government. Even that argument is fallacious. The case may apply to the building of a new house where you cannot build the top without foundation, but the simile of a house does not apply to a political building, especially in the case of India. We in India are not children to be promoted from standard to standard until we pass our graduation either in Arts or in Law. We are full-grown people. We have had experience of governing Empires and Kingdoms in the past (Cheers). We fully know the art. Add to it that we have received western education which lays down certain principles of Government. We have learnt those principles and how to use those principles, having watched them so far in civilised countries. Are we not capable of carrying on the Government of India from tomorrow if the Government is given into our hands?

(Loud cheers.) When we say that Responsible Government should be granted to us by stages we cannot be meant to suppose that we should have training in Municipalities first, in District Boards afterwards Provincial Legislative Councils next and then in the Supreme Legislative Council. There is no parallel between the two. The case of India is like that of an emasculated man who had lost or made to lose all his nervous power. In the case of a nervous disease there is emasculation of the whole body and you have to begin the treatment with the brain and not with the toe. If you want to restore a man to health at once, you give tonic to the brain the centre of all nervous system. So it is with India. If the present Government is unfit for the administration of the country in the best interests of the Empire the best remedy is to give tonic to the brain and that is Simla or Delhi. Unless that centre is made sound soon you cannot expect that any local remedy applied to the different parts of the body—to the foot or hand or other parts of the body—would be of any avail. So the Congress League scheme provides that we must have certain powers in the Central Government. If it is not made removable we must at least be placed on a footing of equality. Half the members of the Executive should be our representatives i.e. they should be elected by the people. Thus we must go on building from the top. We do not want to divide the

political Government in this country into parts, horizontal or vertical. We want to treat the whole man, and we want such cure to be administered as will cure his brain first and power over the lower limbs will gradually be restored. Our scheme provides for that. To talk of Provincial Government when speaking of Imperial autonomy is to talk nonsense. We must have a share of the power in the Central Government. The control over the Municipalities remains with the Central Government, and you know how that power is being exercised and what actual independence you have in a Municipality. If you mean to have local Self-Government you must have power all through from top to bottom, *i.e.*, Responsible Government from top to bottom. In the Congress-League scheme it is provided that the Imperial Legislative Council should have four-fifths of its members elected and one-fifth nominated and that the legislature should have control over the Executive. I admit that this is not Responsible Government but it is really the beginning of Responsible Government. Take the case of a minor whose estate is in charge of the Court of Wards. The minor having attained majority claims the estate from the Court of Wards. Suppose the defence of the Court of Wards is that they will transfer the power by parts, say the stables outside the house. What is the result? When that is done, the Court of Wards will say "We

shall then think at a later date of transferring the whole house to the man. That defence would not be good enough in a Court of Law any Judge will throw it away. The same is the case in the political struggle between the Bureaucracy and the Nation. The Bureaucracy is the trustee of our interests. We have attained the age of majority we claim our estate from the Bureaucracy and men like Mr. Curtis are prepared to tell us. Yes we know that we shall have to transfer the whole power to you but we shall see that it is transferred to you gradually when proper electorates are brought into existence and that at some time in the course of a century or two when the preparations are complete or according to the Hindu time some time in this Kali Yuga we shall transfer the power to you. That kind of defence ought not to be allowed for one moment. We are entitled to the possession of the whole house and if we allow you to share our power with you in that house it is a concession made to you in the hope that you will soon clear out of it. You have managed the house so long you have been living in the house we will allow you to live in the house for a longer time but eventually you must acknowledge that from to day we are masters of the house then alone there can be any compromise otherwise none. The first merit of the Congress scheme is that it asks for a transfer of power to the elective body in the Central Government.

itself. Without a share—an equal share—in the Central Government, it is hopeless to be able to govern the smaller portions of the Empire, such as Municipalities, Local Boards, etc., with any sense of Responsible Government. You must banish from your mind the idea of building from the bottom. That is not the analogy applicable to our scheme. We consent to nothing less than what is embodied in the Congress-League scheme. We must have control over the Central Government. The Government of India is one body from the gods of Simla to the lowest police man in the village. If you want to grant our right, if you think that our claims are just, we must have a share at the top. All these arguments against our scheme are intended to deceive you and are advanced by people whose idea is to remain in possession of the house even though we have attained our majority and are entitled to the possession of the whole house. Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal admitted that we must have the whole Congress scheme *plus* something more. I want also that *plus* and not *minus*. But I claim the first term of this equation to begin with, the other terms will follow, and I shall be one with him when we fight for the second stage, and I ask him and entreat him to be one with me in fighting for the first. The second merit of our scheme is that it tries to build upon the existing foundation. It is not a new scheme requesting the Government to introduce

any modification in the machinery of the government. The machinery has been in existence for hundred years or more. We want the Secretary of State, we want the Imperial Government, we want the Local Governments, we want the Municipality, we want the District Board, and we want also the Bureaucracy to stay in the land and not to go out of it. We want all these, but we want certain transference of power, a decentralisation which will vest people with power in every one of these institutions. We do not want to change the institutions. We do not say that India should be governed by a Crown Prince from England or that the administration should be transferred to any Native Chief. We say, Retain your administrative machinery as it is. Our question is not with machinery but with power. The Government of India is composed of legislative and executive. We want no changes in Governor, Governor General and also Executive Councils but we want that the power that vests in the Executive should be transferred to the legislature. We do not want to disturb the machinery. We do not want a new machinery to be introduced. What we want is that there are certain wheels in the machinery which have appropriated to themselves the power of regulating the machinery, and we want that power to be transferred to other wheels. It is no new scheme: it is a tried scheme, a tried machinery.

All that is required is transfer of power from one part of the machinery to another. The Secretary of State should be deprived of the power of controlling the Government of India. The true Government of India should be in India. What next? The Bureaucracy also agrees with us that power should be transferred by the Secretary of State to the present Government of India. We want it to be transferred to the Government of India and that the Executive should be under the control of the legislature. At present about half the members are elected in the Legislative Council. What is the objection to electing a few more? All objection falls to the ground when you remember that when so many Imperial Council members are elected now and do their work often to the satisfaction of Government. All that we ask for in our scheme is to have a few more members of that kind and give them power to control the Executive. We are to build upon the existing foundation. The objection that our scheme is unworkable, untried and that it has never been tried in other countries is useless and harmful to our interests if the objection is put in a language which may deceive the unwary. The second objection was that if we have half the Executive elected and half the Executive nominated, there would be a deadlock. It is said that one-half of the Executive will be fighting against the other half and that the conflict would make the

administrative nugatory. I say no. Our scheme says that the Governor shall have the power of veto and he would decide which side is correct and the administrative will not be hampered in any way at all. We have made provision for it, and that provision does not suit the Bureaucrats who are in power and they think that when power is shared like that they must act with greater respect to popular opinion. Lastly, I say that our scheme is better than any other scheme for another reason, and that reason is that no other scheme will be so compatible with the wishes of the British Parliament as ours. Mr Curtis and Sir Valentine Chirol have been forced—and I do not think quite willingly—to accept the pronouncement of the Government as the basis of future work. Government having declared the policy—those two gentlemen would have been very glad if the Government had not declared their policy—they have accepted that policy. But what are they trying to do with it? Given that proclamation how much of it in fact what is the lowest proportion of it that can be conceded to the people? They wish to draw the minimum length provided for in that proclamation. That is the problem before Mr Curtis and Sir Valentine Chirol. Our problem is how far the line can be drawn. I must warn you that to accept any other element to be cut away by it simply because the author of it professes to

limit it I therefore commend this resolution for your unanimous acceptance. (Loud and prolonged cheers)”

A STANDARD CHARACTER FOR INDIAN LANGUAGES.

(Speech delivered at Benares at the Nagari Pracharni Sabha Conference under the Presidency of Mr R. C. Dutt in December 1905)

Gentlemen, the scope and object of the Nagari Pracharni Sabha has already been explained to you by the president. I should have gladly dilated on the same But as ten speakers are to follow me within an hour and a half, I must forego the pleasure and restrict myself, during the few minutes at my disposal to a brief mention of the points which I think ought to be kept in view in endeavouring to work on the lines adopted by the Sabha

The first and the most important thing we have to remember is that this movement is not merely for establishing a common character for the Northern India. It is a part and parcel of a larger movement I may say it is a national movement to have a common language for the whole of India ; for, a common language is an important element of nationality It is by a common language that you express your thoughts to others , and Manu rightly

says that everything is comprehended or proceeded from *vak* or language. Therefore, if you want to draw a nation together there is no force more powerful than to have a common language for all. And that is the end which the Sabha has kept in view.

But how is the end to be attained? We aim at having a common language not only for Northern India but I will say, in course of time, for the whole of India including the Southern or the Madras Presidency, and when the scope of our labours is so widened our difficulties seem to grow apace. First of all we have to face what may be called the historic difficulties. The contests between the Aryans and the non Aryans in ancient days and between the Mahomedans and the Hindus in later times have destroyed the linguistic harmony of the country. In Northern India the languages spoken by the Indian population are mostly Aryan, being derived from Sanskrit while those in the South are Dravidian in origin. The difference exists not only in words but in the characters in which those words are written. Next to this is the difference between Urdu and Hindi to which so much prominence is given in this province. On one side we have also the Modi or the runner script character as distinct from the Balabodhi or the Devanagari in which the Marathi books are generally printed.

There are, therefore, two great important elements which we have to harmonise and bring together under our common character or language before we venture to go to the Mahomedan or Persian characters. I have already said that though a common language for India is the ultimate end we have in view, we begin with the lowest step of the ladder, I mean a common character for Hindus. But here too we have to harmonise the two elements now mentioned—the Aryan or the Devanagari character, and the Dravidian or the Tamil character. It should be noted that the distinction is not one of character only in as much as there are certain sounds in the Dravidian languages which are not to be found in any Aryan language.

We have resolved to proceed step by step, and as explained to you by the president we have at first taken up in hand only the group of the Aryan languages *i e.*, those derived from Sanskrit. These are Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, Gujarathi and Gurmukhi. There are other sub-dialects, but I have named the principal ones. These languages are all derived from Sanskrit; and the characters in which they are written are also modifications of the ancient characters of India. In course of time each of these languages has however, developed its own peculiarities in grammar, pronunciation and characters, though the alphabet in each is nearly the same.

The Nagari Pracharini Sabha aims at having a common character for all these Aryan languages so that when a book is printed in that character it may be more readily intelligible to all the people speaking the Aryan languages. I think we all agree on this point and admit its utility. But the difficulty arises when a certain character is proposed as best fitted to be the common character for all. Thus for instance the Bengalis may urge that the characters in which they write their language are more ancient than those adopted by the Gujarathi or Marathi speaking people and that Bengali should therefore be selected as a common character for all. There are others who think that the Devanagari as you find it in the printed books is the oldest character and therefore it is entitled to be the common character for all the Aryan languages.

To avoid this difficulty it was at one time suggested that we should all adopt Roman characters; and one reason advanced in support thereof was that it would give a common character both for Asia and Europe.

Gentlemen, the suggestion appears to me to be utterly ridiculous. The Roman alphabet, and therefore Roman character, is very defective and entirely unsuited to express the sounds used by us. It has been found to be defective even by English grammarians. Thus while sometimes a single letter has three or four sounds, sometimes a single sound is represented by two or three letters. Add to it the difficulty of finding Roman characters or letters that would exactly represent the sounds in our languages without the use of any diacritic marks, and the ridiculousness of the suggestion would be patent to all

If a common character is needed for us all, it should be, you will therefore see, a more perfect character than the Roman. European Sanskritists have declared that the Devanagiri alphabet is more perfect than any which obtains in Europe. And with this clear opinion before us, it would be suicidal to go to any other alphabet in our search for a common character for all the Aryan languages in India. No, I would go further and say that the classification of letters and sounds on which we have

bestowed so much labour in India and which we find perfected in the works of Panini is not to be found in any other language in the world. That is another reason why the Devanagiri alphabet is the best suited to represent the different sounds we all use. If you compare the different characters given at the end of each Book published in the Sacred Books of the East Series you will be convinced of what I say. We have one sound for one letter and one letter for each sound. I do not think therefore that there can be any difference of opinion as to what alphabet we should adopt. The Devanagiri is pre-eminently such an alphabet. The question is one of character or the form in writing which the letters of the alphabet assume in different provinces; and I have already said that this question cannot be solved on mere antiquarian grounds.

the character in which Sanskrit is written, and therefore, it ought to be the common character for the whole of India

I fully appreciate the force of these remarks. But we must come to a solution of the question and for that purpose discuss the subject in a business-like and practical manner. Whatever character we adopt, it must be easy to write, elegant to the eye and capable of being written with fluency. The letters that you devise must again be sufficient to express all the sounds in different Aryan languages, nay, must be capable of being extended to express the Dravidian sounds without diacritic marks. There should be one letter for every sound and *vice versa*. That is what I mean by sufficient and complete character. And if we put our heads together it would not be difficult to devise such a character based on the existing ones. In determining upon such a character we shall have to take into consideration the fact, namely, which of the existing characters is or are used over a wider area. For a single character used over a wider area if suited in other respects will naturally claim preference to be a common character as far as it goes.

When you have appointed your committee for the purpose and found out a common character, I think we shall have to go to Government and urge upon its attention the necessity of introducing in the vernacular school books of each province a few

lessons in this standard character so that the next generation may become familiar with it from its school days. Studying a new character is not a difficult task. But there is a sort of reluctance to study a new character after one's studies are completed. This reluctance can be overcome by the way I have suggested and herein Government can help us. It is not a political question as such though in the end everything may be said to be political. A Government that gave us a standard time and standard system of weights and measures would not I think object to lend its help to a scheme which aims to secure a standard character for all Aryan languages.

all and I am glad to see that by preparing a dictionary of scientific terms in Hindi, the Sabha is doing a good service in this line. I should have liked to say something on this point. But as there are other speakers to follow me, I do not think I shall be justified in doing so and therefore resume my seat with your permission.

THE SHIVAJI FESTIVAL.

The following is a rendering into English of a speech delivered in Marathi on the occasion of the Shivaji Coronation festival in Poona on the 25th June 1907.—

It is a pity the Government cannot yet understand that the object of festivals like these is not to create disturbances. Its mind is yet enveloped in undeserved suspicion. There are a dozen detectives and reporters at this very meeting. Now where is the need for all this suspicion and distrust? I am sorry that the District Magistrate himself did not take the trouble to attend. Why not take the golden opportunity to know first hand what the advocates of the Shivaji festival have got really to say on these occasions? I for one, am prepared to say every word that I now say even before His Excellency the Governor. I will say it before God Himself, for what I say I have honestly at heart, I

will proclaim it from the house tops if required I will avow it if a detective comes to me and asks for my views. There is no occasion for expressing views by stealth or secrecy, and what need of it? Surely, Indians are not robbers in their own country. They can certainly proclaim their aspirations and they really ought to. We do not fear a hearing only we want a full and a fair hearing. I strongly condemn the mean attempt to lay the nets for a stray unguarded word to penalise and victimise the speaker. If Government wants to know the truth let it be prepared to hear the whole truth. Why spend two lacs on maintaining short hand reporters and detectives and such other men of the intelligence department? The money would be surely better spent on technical education. If we celebrate the Shivaji festival we do not do it for raising the standard of revolt. The idea will be foolish and absurd as we all know that we have no arms no ammunition.

An educated man an M. A. and an L. L. B. may surely be given credit for knowing that the Military strength of the Government is enormous and that a single Machine gun showering hundreds of bullets per minute will quite suffice for our largest public meetings. How can a detective find out things which never enter the perception of the educated classes? Those who are thus shadowed may however console themselves with the idea that

the great God who sees everything is the people's detective upon kings and Governments, and that this divine detective must sooner or later bring the British Government to justice. The secret of all this mischief lies in the idea that the educated classes are the enemies of the Government. Mr. Morley in fact said it in so many words, and he made much of the fact that every member of the proletariat did not often completely endorse what the educated man had to say,—as if every savage or aboriginee, every illiterate man of the masses, should be able to comprehend the depths of the political cunning of our bureaucracy. But what is it in the educated classes that leads Mr. Morely to mistake them for enemies? Is it the knowledge in them that so leads him? Then surely Mr. Morley himself is the enemy of knowledge. We all know that Adam, the original man, suffered because he ate the fruit of the tree of 'Knowledge, and the educated Indians are being treated similarly for the knowledge which is bestowed upon them. Is the Government prepared to be classed with those who are the enemies of knowledge in this creation?

To turn to the Shivaji festival, the knowledge we have, or the knowledge which we want to inculcate among the people in this connection, relates not to the actual use of the identical measures which Shivaji for instance took but to a proper

appreciation of the spirit to which he resorted to the measures suitable to his time. Festivals like these prove an incentive to the legitimate ambitions of a people with a great historic past. They serve to impart courage, such courage as an appreciation of heroes securing their salvation against odds can give. They are an antidote to vague despair. They serve like manure to the seeds of enthusiasm and the spirit of nationality. Malice or wickedness is never the keynote or even the minor note, of those who come together on occasions like these. I wish that every word I say on this point should be faithfully reported and I will gladly supply omissions if the report were submitted to me for correction. The time is surely not yet for lawlessness for we have not yet exhausted all the possibilities of what may be claimed as legitimate and lawful action. But the pity of it all is that the Government is engaged in treating even this lawful action as unlawful. Lala Lajpat Rai for instance had done nothing that was not lawful and yet the whole official hierarchy conspired and acted like one man to deport him. I cannot imagine a clearer sign that the greatness of the British Government is doomed and that decay and demoralisation has set in. Mr. Meekins is a great "Pandit" a learned man. There is no need of saying the fact but it was a pity that this excellent repository of learning this great English "Pandit" is no better after all than one of

our own orthodox Pandits of Benares who are strangers to worldly wisdom. It is an irony of fate that the greater the scholarship, the less the statesmanship. Mr. Morley ridicules the educated classes on the ground that they are poor. Has Mr. Morley forgotten the old days when he himself enjoyed no better lot? The educated Indian may aspire to rise to high office, but that is no more culpable in him than for this English Pandit to aspire for a State Secretaryship. His analysis of the factors of the Indian population is very amusing. He claims the Princes and the notables on his side. Surely it is not a thing to be wondered at when we know that the Indian Princes are mere puppets, whose tenure of life as Princes hangs on the breath of the British Government. The Viceroy proclaimed Ordinance I of 1907 as there were disturbances in Bengal and the Panjab, but the Maharajah of Kolhapore went one better though he had not the least excuse of any kind. Mr. Morley claims the merchant class on his side. This is not true about the whole class and it must be remembered that merchants who are engaged in British trade and who depend on the means of enjoying the luxuries of life on that trade cannot be expected to come forward boldly to speak against Government. And lastly he claimed the lowest and the poorest classes, the illiterate ryots, as being on the side of Government. The Hon'ble Mr. Logan echoed the same

sentiment only the other day in the Bombay Legislative Council. But this is moonshine. The pretensions of this official friend of the ryot cannot be exposed and contradicted to his very face only because the ryot is illiterate and cannot know who presumed to pose as his friend. But surely these false pretensions will be doomed as soon as education is sufficiently extended and I may perhaps say that it is only for this reason that the Government is so cautious in extending it. The educated classes alone have the knowledge and the courage for agitation and naturally the State Secretary treats them as enemies. But I appeal to you that the educated classes need not feel despair over such a thing. The educated classes are no doubt poor but they have one compensating advantage. They are not poor inasmuch as their knowledge possesses unlimited potentiality for wealth of every sort. They may also rely upon gradually bringing to their side those classes on whose support Government now thinks it may rely. History abounds in cases of kingdoms undone by the discontent of penniless beggars. No one could be more poor than the great Chanakya of mediæval Indian History and it is well known how Chanakya, who had no stake in the world but the little knot of his hair exterminated the whole race of the Bandas in return for the insult that was deliberately given to him. Mr. Woodley of all persons should not have scorned

the power of educated men because they were poor and had no earthly stake. But when thoughtful men like Mr. Morley betray such evident signs of thoughtlessness, then surely the decline of the British Raj has begun. Mr. Morley has, however, rendered one great service. He has disillusioned the over-credulous and optimistic souls among us, and literally proved that the greatest Radical after all is no better than the worst Conservative so far as India is concerned. The old generation, to which I myself belong, is now nearly "hors de combat." The younger generation certainly does not share in this deluding optimism and that is a hopeful sign for India, and I look forward to their exerting themselves with courage and perseverance. Mr. Paranjpye and another speaker had referred to the theory of social contract of Rousseau, and Mr. Damale had construed the Proclamation of 1858 as a contract. For my part I think that the word "contract" cannot be made applicable to relations existing between unequals, and it is dangerous for us to be deluded into a belief that the Proclamation is anything like a contract. No doubt it was a pledge solemnly given, but in its inception it was an utterance made in only a statesmanly spirit, because it was calculated to make for peace at the time. But the finger of the tactician is discernable in it. It is essentially an English idea that a political agitation is an attempt to enforce the terms of such

an agreement. The Eastern idea is different, but it is a mistake to hold that it does not warrant an agitation by the subjects to control the power of the king. The idea is no doubt true that the king is part and parcel of the Godhead and some foolish people have tried to fling it in the face of the Indian people to detract from their demand for popular institutions. But the canons of interpretation of a text are not less important than the text itself and the real mischief arises from not construing the text in this respect as it should be. The king or Sovereign is no doubt a part and parcel of the Godhead but according to the Vedānta so is every member of the subject people. For is not every soul a chip from the same block of Brahman? It is absurd to suppose that the Indian lawgivers of old regarded a king as absolved from all duties towards his subjects. Why Manu has distinctly laid down for instance that the king who punishes those whom he should not or does not punish those whom he should goes to hell.

King may himself be a sort of deity, but the conflict between him and his subjects begets another deity only superior to him. And if the cause of the people be just, the second deity quietly absorbs the first. It is well-known that both Parashurama and Rama are regarded as direct incarnations of God. But it is on record that when the days of the sixth incarnation were numbered the flame (of glory and power, as the Purana graphically describes,) came out from the mouth of Parashurama and entered that of Rama. And what was Parashurama but a mere human being when he was deprived of this flame, the insignia of divinity? The divine element in kingship even according to the oriental ideas is not free from its peculiar limitations, and I challenge any one to point out any text which lays down that the yoke of the tyranny of a ruler, whoever he may be, should be quietly borne. The divine King as soon as he ceases to be just ceases also to be divine. He becomes an "asura" and this depreciated divinity is forthwith replaced by a deity, the divinity in which is not so alloyed. Shivaji did not probably concern himself with the text "Na Vishnu Prithivipathi" and surely he did not know what Hobbes or Locke thought about the principles of political government much less Rousseau or the Encyclopedists who were all anxious to replace the old religious theory of kingship by the secular one of contract. He knew his Vedanta all right and

also knew how to put that Vedānta to practical use. The Vedānta may indeed be capable of giving colour to foolish theories of Government, but the wise Vedāntin knows how to refute those theories even in the terms of Vedānta itself. But then it may be urged that we shall have to suffer for doing what I want you to do. But then the path of duty is never sprinkled with rose water nor roses grow on it. It is true that what we seek may seem like a revolution in the sense that it means a complete change in the theory of the Government of India as now put forward by the bureaucracy. It is true that this revolution must be a bloodless revolution, but it would be a folly to suppose that if there is to be no shedding of blood there are also to be no sufferings to be undergone by the people. Why, even these sufferings must be great. But you can win nothing unless you are prepared to suffer. The war between Ishwara and the son if it is conducted

means by which you may and ought to achieve your object which is to force the hands of the bureaucracy to concede the reforms and privileges demanded by the people. You must realise that you are a great factor in the power with which the administration in India is conducted. You are yourselves the useful lubricants which enable the gigantic machinery to work so smoothly.

Though down-trodden and neglected, you must be conscious of your power of making the administration impossible if you but chose to make it so. It is you who manage the rail-road and the telegraph, it is you who make settlements and collect revenues, it is in fact you who do every thing for the administration though in a subordinate capacity. You must consider whether you cannot turn your hand to better use for your nation than drudging on in this fashion. Let your places be filled by Europeans on the splendid salary of eight annas a day if possible! You must seriously consider whether your present conduct is self respectful to yourselves or useful to the nation. You must also consider what humiliation you have to suffer when foreigners openly express their wonder at the three hundred millions of India bearing their present ignominious lot without any effective protest. To say this, is not to violate the spirit of laws of any constitution. Surely it does not violate the sense of God's justice as we understand it. It is but those who oppose the

reasonable demands of the Indian people that offend against God's justice

You must imitate your rulers only in one thing, namely in maintaining an unflinching succession of public workers. If one Lala Lajpat Rai is sent abroad another ought to be found to take his place as readily as a junior Collector steps into the shoes of a senior. It is vain to hope that your petitions will have the effect of releasing Lala, though it is well known that the Government do not mean to keep him a prisoner all his life. His deportation is intended not so much to penalise Lala Lajpat Rai as to terrify those that would follow his example and if their agitation stopped as soon as one deportation took place Government will run away with the idea that terrorism had triumphed. It is no use in fact it is a wrong course to declare your loyalty with the Law at large on an occasion like the present. Those proclaimers of loyalty may be

you will go on demanding them, though threatened that such demands will be treated as signs of disloyalty. What you want is bread for the masses and honourable rights for the masses as well as classes. That is not being disloyal, and I for one do not care that it is likely to be deliberately mistaken for disloyalty. The time has certainly come when you must be prepared to clearly formulate and persistently demand the more important rights and privileges. I say again to the reporters to report every word that I am uttering, I am uttering deliberately. A faithful report of those words will help rather than retard the cause I have at heart. With regard to Mr. Kinckaid's lecture on the Peshwas I have to point out that on the whole he has taken a correct view of that period of Mahratta history, though I differ from him in one respect. The rule of the Peshwas came to an end not because they were usurpers of the political power, but because in the very nature of things a single family or dynasty cannot produce an unbroken succession of men possessed of such incomparable valour, ability and statesmanship as the family of Balaji Vishvanath did. There would have been even in England the same collapse of dynastic rule if the British constitution did not afford the useful ballast of the Parliament in which the sovereign power is diffused among so many individuals. We Indians have learnt at our own cost the lesson of

the importance of popular and representative Government and that is exactly the reason why our aspirations seem to be diverted from the patent oriental ideal

forests, because the people were already enjoying Swarajya or People's Dominion, which was administered and defended in the first instance by the Kshatriya kings. It is my conviction, it is my thesis, that Swarajya in the life to come cannot be the reward of a people who have not enjoyed it in this world. Such was the doctrine taught by our forefathers who never intended that the goal of life should be meditation alone. No one can expect Providence to protect one who sits with folded arms and throws his burden on others. God does not help the indolent. You must be doing all that you can to lift yourself up, and then only you may rely on the Almighty to help you. You should not, however, presume that you have to toil that you yourself might reap the fruit of your labours. That cannot always be the case. Let us then try our utmost and leave the generations to come to enjoy that fruit. Remember, it is not you who had planted the mango-trees the fruit whereof you have tasted. Let the advantage now go to our children and their descendants. It is only given to us to toil and work. And so, there ought to be no relaxation in our efforts, lest we incur the curse of those that come after us. Action alone must be our guiding principle, action disinterested and well-thought out. It does not matter who the Sovereign is. It is enough if we have full liberty to elevate ourselves in the best possible manner. This is called the

immutable Dharma, and Karma Yoga is nothing but the method which leads to the attainment of Dharma or material and spiritual glory. We demand Swaraj as it is the foundation and not the height of our future prosperity. Swaraj does not at all imply a denial of British Sovereignty or British rights. It means only that we Indians should be reckoned among the patriotic and self-respecting peoples of the Empire. We must refuse to be treated like the dumb, driven cattle. If poor Indians starve in famine days it is other people who take care of them. This is not an enviable position. It is neither creditable nor beneficial if other people have to do everything for us. God has declared His will. He has willed that Self can be exalted only through its own efforts. Everything lies in your hand. Karma Yoga does not look upon this world as a thing. It requires only that your motives should be untainted by selfish interest and passion. This is the true view of practical Vedanta, the key to which is apt to be lost in philosophy.

God. Those who can efficiently manage their own affairs may be illiterate ; but they are not therefore idiots. They are as intelligent as any educated men and if they could understand 'their village concerns they should not find any difficulty in grasping the principle of Swarajya. If illiteracy is not a disqualification in Civil Law there is no reason why it should not be so in Nature's Law also. The illiterate are our brethren ; they have the same rights and are actuated by the same aspirations. It is, therefore, our bounden duty to awaken the masses. Circumstances are changed, nay, they are favourable. The voice has gone forth, 'Now or never.' Rectitude and constitutional agitation is alone what is expected of you. Turn not back, and confidently leave the ultimate issue to the benevolence of the Almighty.

(Poona Sarvajank Sabha Quarterly)

SHISHIR KUMAR GHOSE.

The following speech of Lokamanya Tilak was delivered on 3rd January, 1918 at Monomhon Theatre, Calcutta, on the occasion of the sixth anniversary of Babu Shishir Kumar Ghose's death.—

We have all heard a number of incidents relating to the life of one whose memory we have come

here to commemorate to-day. As for myself, I want to add only a few words to what has already been said. I must say first that I had the pleasure and honour of being personally acquainted with Shishir Babu. I have learnt many lessons sitting at his feet. I revered him as my father (Hear hear) and I venture again to say that he in return, loved me as his son. I can call to mind many an interview that I had with him at the *Patrika* office some of which lasted for hours. I have distinct recollections of what he told me of his experiences as a journalist with tears in his eyes and sympathy in his words. I then requested him if I remember now to put down those incidents at least to leave notes in writing so that they might serve the future historian of the country or even the writer of his life.

To me Shishir Babu figures as the pioneer of journalists in this country. After the Mutiny when he was only fifteen years of age came the establishment of the British bureaucracy in this country—it was a despotic rule and the country wanted a man who would cope with their devices—who would see the inner meaning of their devices—who was courageous enough to meet them bold and honest enough to expose them and take defeat calmly and coolly in order to reconstitute for future strength. Such was Shishir Kumar Ghose. The *Patrika* is the manifestation of the spirit of which he was full—

nobody may talk of the *Patrika* without being reminded of Shishir Kumar Ghose. At this time a man was required with a feeling heart to realise the position of the masses who were then governed by a despotic rule—one who must have sympathy with the people who were unjustly treated and did not know what to do but only looked up to heaven for help. The people were dumb. The bureaucracy had full power. The Mutiny had just been over and British Rule had been firmly established in the land. At such a time a man was required to steer the national ship to a safe harbour constitutionally and legally—a man of courage, a man who could see through the actions of the bureaucracy—actions which were calculated to bear fruit in the distant future.

It is a very difficult task now to criticise the Government—it was more so in those days and not only biting sarcasm but great resourcefulness, great courage, great insight and large sympathy was required to make honest journalism a success in the land. Shishir Babu had these qualities in abundance. The authorities feared him. They could not raise their finger to crush him. You have just now heard the story of Sir Ashley Eden who wanted to strike at him but could not. What was it due to? It was not due to legal or any other protection—it was due to the character of the man which was his only protection. Sir Ashley feared not so much

the writing of the mao, but the character of the mao who would persist in writing such things so long as the injustice was not removed

In Shishir Kumar we had a man who would not care for honour or favour but would stand boldly by his guns until success was attained (Hear hear) Even a strong man at times is not able to do much—for strength is to be joined with prudence prudence is to be coupled with foresight—both with courage and keenness of perception which is granted only to a few people in the world In Shishir Kumar all these qualities were combined Such a man I had the honour and the pleasure of knowing

Journalism—Independent and free journalism—was not an easy task in those days—sixty years ago when many of you were charmed with Government Service You looked upon such a man as rather eccentric—he might be independent, might be honest but certainly not worldly He had to calmly bear the reproaches of friends for having refused Government favours and other things that make life happy and easy He stood alone and his conscience was his stand He thought that he had a message to give to the world—he thought that he had a duty to do and he did it unflinchingly That was the man who led Bengal in the last decades of the 19th century I am glad to say that the standards of the paper are being fully maintained

to this day (cheers). I myself have something to do with journalism and when I take a survey of the papers that have been carried on for two generations with the same policy and with the same spirit—I can point to one paper and that is the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (cheers). I had a talk on that subject with my friend Babu Motilal Ghose. I asked him how is it that he could copy his brother so exactly in language, style and sentiment and he told me that he had studied his brother and nothing else and hence he had been able to maintain the spirit of the paper.

These high ideals are out of the reach of the common people and the common people judge these men by their own standards, attribute to them motives which are foreign to them. Shishir Babu also had to face this and he did the work which can truly be called the work of an angel. He saw that the service of humanity was a stepping stone to the service of God. When he gave up, owing to physical feebleness, his work at the *Patrika* office, he devoted his time to the service of God with the same enthusiasm and fervour with which he did service to the people. Such was the man we have lost. I am sorry I am not an adept in character-sketching, but if I have given you certain prominent characteristics of his life, I think I have done enough. Such a man is rare to find. You have his life written, and from it you may know the story

of his life but underneath all this do not fail to find out and properly value the man who had made journalism what it is in India.

I know with what enthusiasm and eagerness the *Patrika* was awaited in my province every week 40 years ago. I know how people were delighted to read his sarcasm, his pithy and critical notes written in his racy style simple but at the same time effective. How people longed to see the paper on the day it was due by post how people enjoyed it—I know it personally (Hear hear) You in Bengal cannot know what we felt and thought in the Maharashtra. Strange stories circulated about these brothers in my province. People used to say that Shishir Babu was writing with one foot in jail and the other brother was waiting simply to see when the elder is sent to jail. There were stories like that and if they do not correspond with facts they at least illustrate the feeling and the reverence with which the paper was read in my part of the country. They show how the man was appreciated. They were really delighted to see his writings but very few had the courage to quote these remarks before others they enjoyed them in secret.

I may further tell you that when we started writing in the vernacular we tried to follow the style of the *Patrika*. This was the time

when one had to teach the people how to criticise the bureaucracy and at the same time keep oneself safe, bodily at least if not pecuniarily. That was the idea fully developed by Shishir Kumar in those days of journalism. The bureaucracy is always anxious to conciliate its critics not by mending its way but by offering bribes to them and the dignity of Shishir Kumar lay not so much in his writings as in the courage which he showed at a critical time, when favours were offered to him and he rejected them with contempt. Such a man he was.

Babu Shishir Kumar was a true political saint and I regret as much as you do that that kind of character is getting rare in these days, as it is bound to be by the demoralisation of the despotic government. We thank God that we had such a man in the early years of journalism in India. He was a hero in the true sense of the word. He did not see his aspirations fulfilled. It might be fulfilled in a generation or two or more, but we cannot forget that it was he who laid the foundation. Such a man deserved to be respected not only during his life but for all time to come. I wish you to study his life—to look not to his failings but to his great achievements—to draw inspiration from him and follow in his footsteps as far as it is possible for you to do.

MR GOKHALE

Mr Tilak in moving the resolution on the death of Mr Gokhale at the 17th Bombay Provincial Conference on 10th May 1915, Mr Tilak spoke as follows —

He said that it was in a way a great misfortune that a day should come when he should have to propose the said resolution which he did. He felt sadness and sorrow more keenly than others because he was in part responsible in introducing Mr Gokhale into the field of politics a field in which that zealous and sincere worker lost his life by overwork. People should not judge of his relations with Mr Gokhale by what appeared on the outside. He had worked with Mr Gokhale for eight years in the Fergusson College and had known him in various capacities in his political career. No man could better know than he did Mr Gokhale's qualities of head and heart—his zeal in the country's cause, his sincerity and single mindedness, his determination to take to the end the task he might take in hand. It was a misfortune for India that she could not boast of many such men. The loss of a man like Mr Gokhale was irreparable but people must try their best to fill up the gap. He urged the audience not to simply rue the loss but heroically determine to work as Mr Gokhale did. He awaited all why not then work strenuously

while life lasted? All men, he knew, could not be Gokhales, but surely all Indians were not women with bangles on. Indeed he knew people who were almost the equals of Mr. Gokhale in abilities, but they unfortunately had not Mr. Gokhale's sincerity and single-minded devotion to the country's cause. The resolution he proposed rightly conveyed to Mr Gokhale's bereaved family the condolences of the whole audience. That was to alleviate in a small measure, their sorrow. But that was not the chief reason why he had been there to propose the resolution. People must not simply be sad and cry, to do so was to proclaim to the world their unmanliness. He would, therefore, urge his fellowmen to pass another resolution—a resolution which was to be made in the mind and, therefore, which was not expressed in so many words—to the effect that they would strive and do their best to fill up the lamentable void created by the death of Mr Gokhale. He would not speak of the actual lines upon which people should work, for, the lines would differ according to individual capacities and temperaments, but the attitude of heart must be according to what he indicated

This is not a time for cheers. This is a time for shedding tears. This is a time for expressing sorrow at the irreparable loss which we have

sustained by the death of Mr Gokhale This diamond of India this jewel of Maharashtra this prince of workers is taking eternal rest on the funeral ground Look at him and try to emulate him Mr Gokhale has passed away from our midst after having satisfactorily performed his duty Will any of you come forward to take his place? Like a triumphant he is passing away after having made his name immortal Not only none of you here assembled but no other citizen in all India will be able to give a satisfactory account in the other world of having done his duty to the Motherland Up to this time very few have had the fortune of being

ALI BROTHERS.

The following is the speech of Mr. Tilak in moving the resolution on the release of Ali Brothers, at the Calcutta Session of the Indian National Congress in 1917.—

Madam, mother of Messrs. Mohomed Ali and Shaukat Ali, Fellow Delegates, ladies and gentlemen—The mother of Messrs. Mohomed Ali and Shaukat Ali, the revered mother—the mother of the brave—is here, and it befits you all to hear in silence what is to be said in support of the resolution asking the Government to release the two interned detainees. I use that word deliberately because they have been suffering on suspicion for long from day to day and on grounds, which were discovered not at the time of this internment, but after they had been detained. The resolution runs thus.—

That this Congress urges on the Government the immediate release of Messrs Mohomed Ali and Shaukat Ali who have remained incarcerated since October, 1914 and are now kept interned because of religious scruples which they hold in common with the whole of Islam in India and elsewhere and which are not incompatible with loyalty to the King Emperor

Continuing the speaker said —They all knew why Mr Mohomed Ali was interned under the

Defence of India Act in 1914 That Act was very elastic and invested the authorities with the complete power of despotism If the Executive thought, without any further enquiry on the evidence of the C I D—the evidence he might say manufactured evidence manufactured according to their wishes that there was a danger to the public tranquility or safety without caring to divulge anything they could intern a person That was what happened in this case Mr Mohomed Ali was interned in 1914 apparently for publishing certain articles in the press but the real cause was that he displeased the high authority Though there was no convincing proof before the authorities the brothers were interned Both the Hindus and the Mahomedans requested

practically the whole of India was unanimous. But the C.I.D. did not like their release. Sometimes the C.I.D. tried to control the Executive Department. The speaker said that the C.I.D., was like the Rakshasa who wanted to destroy his own creator, Lord Shiva. The C. I. D. were entrusted with the task of finding out evidence by which the detention of those two brothers could be supported. The C.I.D. went to Chindwara, had a talk with them and wanted to ascertain whether they would be loyal to the Crown. It was not a new thing to them; they were loyal before. But there was a condition attached to it. The C.I.D. said that the two brothers owed allegiance to God above and the Executive god below. Mr. Mohomed Ali was prepared to be loyal to the King Emperor provided his religious scruples were respected. That statement was at once pounced upon by the C.I.D. and the Executive Government. Those two brothers were not detained for that. That fact was discovered after their detention and it was made the ground for detaining them further at Chindwara (shame, shame) They detained the persons for some reason which did not justify the action. Something subsequently cropped up and that was immediately laid hold of to justify the action. They then continued to detain them. "Religious scruple" could not be a ground for detaining a person. It was not a tenable ground. It was

illusory, fallacious and unjust. The next step taken by Government was this the C.I.D. discovered a letter supposed to have been written by the interned brothers. That letter brought out certain supposed connection between these two brothers and a religious Mahomedan gentleman of Delhi and it was alleged that they were in league with the King's enemies. Immediately it was got hold of it was placed before the Viceroy. But Government instead of asking these two brothers who denied the charge to explain detained them further. If Government had reliable information on the point the two brothers would have been placed on trial on the information supplied by the C.I.D. This is a very solemn occasion. We are passing the resolution in the presence of their mother. Mind mother's grief and mother's care is something unprecedented. I am not going to compare it with anything else. But let me assure the mother on your behalf that the title to become the mother of a brave son far exceeds in importance that I appeal to her to forgive and forget what Government has done and to take consolation in the fact that all of us have sympathy with her in her present position. I pray to God that we may have many more mothers like her in this country (Hear hear). That is the only consolation I can offer in the present circumstances and I do so with your permission.

LOKAMANYA TILAK IN MADRAS.

On the eve of the Amritsar Congress Lokamanya Tilak visited Madras to consult the Madras politicians on the political situation. A monster meeting was held in the Triplicane Beach with Mr. S. Kasturiranga Aiyangar, the editor of the *Hindu*, in the chair. The Lokamanya was presented with a number of addresses, to which he gave the following joint reply.—

Mr. Chairman and Friends,—I have been asked to reply to these addresses I do not know what reply I have to make except that I have to quarrel with every word in the addresses. It would be a long discussion which I am not going to enter upon. If I accept the addresses, I do so because they have given me an opportunity of explaining what work we have done in England. I do so, not for my sake but for the sake of Swaraj.

When I came here a year ago, I told you we were going to England, not depending upon the generosity of the British nation or on the strength of our request or prayer, but mostly on circumstances I thought at the time, and I do think even now, that the world is passing through a stage of reconstruction, a stage of unrest, a transitory stage, the end of which is to be the establishment of freedom and democracy all over the world.

(Hear, hear) When we went to England the circumstances were altered. We carried peace with us (Cheers) We thought that in the establishment of peace, our services would be duly recognised. We reached England twelve days after the Armistice had been concluded. Our friend Mr R P Karandikar used to say we took peace to England. Whether it was literally true or physically true or allegorically true you have to decide for yourself. But that was a fact (Laughter) It may be a coincidence but after all coincidence is a fact. We carried also a mandate from the Congress to represent the view of the Congress before the British public. We had full six or seven months before us to do what is called spade work.

I want to give you an account of that spade work an account of the difficulties we had to face and the success we attained in that distant land where it is impossible to obtain a full hearing according to some (Loud cheers) and to remove some of the misunderstandings and misrepresentations that have been circulated here in India during our absence. It was not only the Congress Deputation that went to England but there were the Moderate Deputation the All India Home Rule League Deputation the National Home Rule League Deputation the Non-Brahman Deputation and a number of others. When these deputations placed their views before the English public they naturally questioned

us, " Whom are we to believe? (Laughter) Who represents India ? Why should there be such a difference of opinion?" The Moderate Deputation was led by Mr. Surendranath Banerjee, the oldest of the Congress workers. His zeal and enthusiasm for work cannot be questioned. We were in a fix as to what to say. I was myself confronted with that question. I told the audience in England : " This is not a personal question. You have to see which deputation is the most representative of India. Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee is a wise man and a great man. Mr Asquith was defeated in election. Mr. Asquith as compared to Mr. Lloyd George is not a whit inferior. Why do you follow Mr. Lloyd George and not Mr. Asquith now? The simple answer is that the country is with him. The same is the case with the Congress deputation " I did not say a word against Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee and I would never say it. It was impossible to speak lightly of the man. My only answer was that the country had ceased to follow him, (hear, hear), and that was no fault of mine. That answer went home. We tried to convince the English public that the Congress deputation alone represented the Indian nation. You may call it a trick or diplomacy I do not care for the word. But the reply was satisfactory.

The next question was with regard to the Congress scheme and the mandate. We were bound

by the Congress scheme and the Delhi resolution. We represented to the British public the opinion formed at Delhi and the scheme adopted there. But the English people are very clever. We said 'We want Home Rule in fifteen years.' A member of the audience asked 'Why not complete Home Rule just now?' Another member asked me 'Why not separation from England?' My reply was, "We don't want complete Home Rule at this moment. That was the Congress resolution. But as a compromise between us and the bureaucracy we are prepared to accept less for the present with the hope of getting full Home Rule in fifteen years." My second ground was the principle of self-determination. They talked much of it there. They thought it was a very good principle applicable to the enemy countries (cheers). They were trying to settle the Polish and Serbian questions on that principle. I said in India we had our self-determination already. The leaders of India met at Delhi in open Congress and decided on a scheme. You had your Irish Convention. Here we have our own Convention without any mandate or order from Government. We have saved our Government the trouble of calling a convention. We have done that and we deserve greater credit than the Irish because we are here with a self-determined scheme and we place it before you. That answer also went home and the position of the Congress was strengthened.

The next question asked of me was, "Why don't you ask for separation like the Sinn Feiners in Ireland?" That was a difficult question to answer. Some of you younger people here would be tempted to answer "Yes, we want separation in course of time" But that was not my answer, and I won't care if you call me Moderate for it (cheers)! I said, "The League of Nations is established for the federation of the whole world. The political ideal of the twentieth century is not a separation of nations but a League of all nations of the world. If we are already in one league why should we try to separate it (cheers). We want to be in the Empire on terms of equality. We do not want to separate ourselves, but we want to extend within the League of the Empire to such an extent that the Indian League of the nations of the world may come in one day." So the question of separation was set at right (Laughter), because I refused to go further than the Congress scheme. Some men there labelled me as a Moderate. There was a rumour here that Mr. Tilak has grown a Moderate in the English climate. They were afraid that the cold climate might tell upon my enthusiasm. I do not care whether I am called a Moderate or an Extremist so long as I stick to the Congress scheme and do not in any way fall behind our goal or go in advance, because our mandate was such. We looked upon the mandate as binding and it was our duty to

abide by the mandate. You might ask me what harm is there to go in advance you need not go behind. That question had to be explained there. If we give up the ground that we have a mandate from the Congress and that we must adhere to it it would be said that we also do not represent the country. So we went neither forward nor backward.

There was a lot of misunderstanding with regard to the Parliamentary declaration of 20th August 1917, that the Parliament has decided to grant Self Government to India. I said Your own Parliament has said that you cannot go behind it. You cannot raise the question of the fitness of India for self Government now unless you want to quarrel with the declaration of your own Parliament. None of them was inclined to quarrel with Parliament. So we had a fair starting point. We started with the declaration that Self Government must be granted to India. There were only two points to be settled. The question was whether to decide on the principle of self-determination or the determination of the Government of India. We could find no difficulty in persuading the audience to see that the matter must be left to the people to decide. Who is to decide except the Congress and the Muslim League jointly? We had a scheme and we placed it before the British Public. All of them admitted that it was a very moderate scheme.

The idea that if we opposed the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme there was risk of losing it altogether, which idea was predominant here and preached here, had no existence in England. Nobody thought of it. Long telegrams regarding the activities of the Indo-British Association were published in India and made much of. You were told here that if we did not support Mr. Montagu that Association would prevail upon the Secretary of State and belittle what he had intended to give. Let me assure you that when we went to England we investigated into the matter and found that the fear or apprehension was entirely groundless (hear, hear). The Indo-British Association has no influence on the British public. It is an idle body (Laughter), so far as public sympathy is concerned. It is an idle body for which nobody cares in England except probably its subscribers (cheers).

If we did not support Mr. Montagu what would have happened to the Bill? I had to argue that point also with Mr. Montagu. I told him that Government had a solid and assured majority in the House of Commons. Any Bill that Government would introduce would be passed by the House. The bureaucracy did not try here to grasp that position, or if it had grasped, it was in their interests to misrepresent it. That point also had to be given up. So when we went to England the ground was cleared up. The whole question was what was meant by the gradual

fulfilment of the pledge contained in the declaration of the 20th August 1917 to reach the goal of full responsible Government. I said the line taken by the Congress was the shortest and safest line of all. Several gentlemen supporting Mr. Mootagu's scheme lectured to the British audiences and said that everything must be done gradually and step by step. My answer was: 'In these days of electric lifts you do not use the ordinary steps to go upstairs. You don't go step by step to the second floor. This argument did tell upon the British audiences. The greatest difficulty was this: when so many bodies went to England the question was why should they put forward different views before the people? We tried our best, when the deputations came to have a united front presented but we did not succeed. There was absolutely no difference among the members of the Congress deputation absolutely none between me and Mr. Patel. Several English friends tried to effect a kind of agreement between the various deputations but they found it impossible. All the deputations agreed that the Congress deputation was the most representative one. At the same time every deputation added that it was presenting a wiser scheme to the Joint Committee. When you cannot get a following you must depend upon your own wisdom' (Laughter).

Then came the Punjab question. Could we present a united front upon that? The answer was

'No' A direct 'No' (shame, shame). There too we tried to remove all reasonable objections but we could not do that. The question was between amnesty and a commission. Some of the deputations preferred a commission. The Congress and the Home Rule people wanted general amnesty because from our previous experience we knew the commissions do not do anything except white-washing. So many commissions come and go. Government have granted indemnity to their own officers even before a commission was appointed (shame). If the officers wanted indemnity for their benefit we want amnesty for our 'people for their *bonafides* before the commission is appointed. They depended much upon reports of commissions, furnishing a number of arguments for newspaper articles. Those who were in favour of a commission had not gone to jail and did not know the miseries of jail (Laughter).

Another difficulty with regard to our work was that we had to place the whole case before the British public, not before a British official. This kind of work has been done in England for the first time by the Congress deputation and by the Home Rule deputation and let it be said also, by Mrs Besant's National Home Rule League deputation. Some people who returned from England tell you it is very difficult to get an audience in England. I do not think so. It is difficult for a man who is not known there and

whose political views are not known in England. It is natural. But if you proceed in a proper way and take help from political organisations and especially from the Labour organisations which are spread all over the country it is not difficult to get an audience. Let me tell you that owing to the generosity of the Labour Party which placed all its organisations at our disposal we could organise a number of meetings attended by from 500 to 5 000 people (cheers) and we could get a very fair hearing. The people of England are ignorant. I am speaking of the lower classes and not of the capitalistic and pro-bureaucratic classes. With these two latter classes we cannot obtain a hearing. But other people are anxious to know of India because they themselves are suffering from the ills of capitalism. The whole social fabric stands in danger of being revolutionised that is the state in England, France, Italy, Germany and even in America. Industrial, economic and social reform is bound to come. People who are suffering under the despotism of capitalism can fully realise what your efforts are. You have only to put them in proper form. They are willing to hear you and to be educated. The whole British masses had to be moved. It is a very difficult task. But it is not an impossible task. If we cannot overcome difficulties we do not deserve the fruit (hear, hear). Our effort ought to be to enlighten not only the British masses but the British

public, but also to educate public opinion in other countries like America. Our countrymen, like Mr. Lala Lajpat Rai, have done immense service to our country. I have been in correspondence with him for a long time and I speak from personal knowledge. During the last six months no less than seventy organisations, "Home Rule for India" branches, have been established in the United States (hear, hear), with the head office in New York. They want funds to carry on further work. We have already seen the effect of that advocacy in the speech which Barrister Malone made before the Senators to investigate into the Foreign affairs in relation to the treaty of Peace. Another was the Senate of France taking more interest. The League of Nations is looked upon as a new experiment with a view to bring all Nations into a line. An Appellate Court is created over every Parliament, over every Government in the world. This is the ideal which the League of Nations had placed before itself. It may not work so efficiently just in the beginning but it is bound to work efficiently as time rolls on. Every one of you will realise that unless you try in the Appellate Court you need not be disappointed. It is our duty to take up a case to this Appellate Court. I look upon the League of Nations as an Appellate Court, which will settle questions before Nations appeal to arms as a last resort. All nations hope that one day the-

League of Nations will be the final arbiter of quarrels between nations and nations between nations who are dominant and nations who are subordinate and between subordinate nations. This question was directly put to President Wilson in San Francisco where he said that Ireland is entitled to bring forward its scheme before the League of Nations.

We have got a clear decision on this namely, the League of Nations is intended for this purpose

How to influence the League of Nations without carrying on your agitation in countries which are members of the League and in India which is an original member of the League of Nations? So India has a greater right to put forward her case than Ireland. New forces are being created. There is a new atmosphere. New political ideals are put forward by western nations. They are in a kind of unrest. Their military problem is solved but their economic industrial and financial problems are not solved. During the next ten years all these problems must come to the front and will have to be solved one way or the other unless the nations allow the peace of the world to be disturbed which they won't. This is the state of things in Europe. We must take advantage of the situation and if we do not the people of the west

will call us stupid. It would be sheer folly not to take advantage of the League of Nations. The Government of India Bill will be passed in a day or two. The question is whether we should carry on the agitation or not. Some people think we had already had enough talk, let us work up the Reforms and show our fitness and then after ten or fifteen years we might ask for more. I do not agree there (hear, hear). Have you ever heard of a halt being made by the moon between the New Moon and the Full Moon. A thing once begun must be carried to the end (cheers). We shall never be satisfied until we get full Home Rule. It does not mean we boycott what is given. When we build the foundation, any stone will be incorporated into it. We do not reject anything. I was asked the question, "Do you accept it or not?" I said, "I decline to answer that question. If I accept it, you are satisfied. If I reject it I am disloyal." That is the inference to be drawn. I declined to answer that question and tried to turn the table upon the audience by saying the question is not for me to answer but it is for the Parliament to answer. It is for the Parliament to accept the Congress scheme or not. If Parliament accepts it, we shall be satisfied. If it rejects it, we shall continue our work. There is no disappointment. Disappointment has no place in politics. Things will come in course of time. It depends upon your work and labour. I said it was

oot for me to accept or reject the scheme so long as I want to be loyal to the British constitution, I must work under any law that is passed by the Parliament

The Labour party is prepared to help you. The leaders of the Labour party have given me a message to be communicated to my countrymen and that message was repeated in the House of Commons. So it is a public property. That message is "Go on working. We fully sympathise with your objects and aspirations. When we come into power we shall see that you get a better Act." In the face of that message, are you going to believe that you will not obtain a hearing from the British public? The Labour party has pledged itself as no other party has done before. It has committed itself to our programme. Some of my over-anxious friends say "Why should you believe in the Labour party? What guarantee is there that that party would not deceive you?" In fact in one of the Anglo-Indian papers I read we ought not to believe in the promise of the Labour party. My first answer is "In whose promise should we believe? Has anything been done hitherto to fulfil the promises of Her Majesty contained in the Proclamation of 1858? We were deceived. If we cannot put faith in the promises of the British Government and the promises given by Her Majesty at any rate

the promises of the Labour party cannot come to a worse result. We have some kind of hope."

This question of promise is not one sided. It is a bilateral contract as the lawyers call it. We have got the promise not only from the members of the Labour party but also from their constituency. We have got a resolution from them that India must be granted as soon as possible full self-government on the principle of self-determination. (Cheers). That resolution was passed at a meeting in the Albert Hall attended by about 6,000 Englishmen. They are prepared to assist you, to support your demand and to work for the realisation of your aspirations when they come into power. If you don't work it will all go to dogs. My advice is not to depend upon their promise alone, but also upon your own work. If you continue the work that has been done by the deputation, there is no chance of the promise being disregarded or broken. If you want to sit quiet, the other side will take advantage. Depend upon the promise of the Labour party as well as upon your own work. God helps those who help themselves. If we cease to work, the Labour party will say, "You do not deserve our assistance." The world is full of men who are actuated by self-interest. There are very few idealists who work for the realisation of a principle. All the rest are self-interested. One of the Labour leaders wrote to me, "The success of

India in this struggle depends upon India's work. You cannot expect the Labour party to do all for you." Parliament is actuated by two forces: idealism or fear (laughter). If you cannot utilise either of these two forces, you are gone for ever. You must work and then expect help from the Labour party. Those who have no support from the Labour party or any other party might say: "Do not depend upon this or that party." I do not approve of that. It comes from men who do not want to work but who think that all political concessions can be obtained only by seeking the favour of the bureaucracy. (Shame). We do not hold that view. Our agitation is for a right to be granted to the people of India and not for securing power to individuals. We do not fight for fame or position. We fight so that our country should have full liberty to manage its own affairs. (Hear! Hear!)

I went to Scotland. I was surprised or rather feigned to be surprised to hear about Scottish Home Rule League. I asked the people: "What kind of Home Rule do you want? You have got so many representatives in Parliament. They are admitted in the Army, occupy commissioned posts. They say: "As a Scottish nation we do not feel that our interests are properly looked after by the Parliament." (Laughter). The same is the case with Ireland. The Irish political agitation has changed its character. In the days of Mr Parnell it was a

political fight The Sinn Feiners do not call it a political fight, but a national fight. They say, "Our language is gone, our system is gone, nobody looks to our interest, we are absorbed in a big Empire. We want to fight for all these, not for political rights alone." The attitude in Wales is the same. There is the Home Rule agitation all over the Empire, and it will continue. In the reconstruction which is to come, Scotland, Wales and Ireland will have their Home Rule, and why not India? India will have its Home Rule too. Agitation for Home Rule is a universal agitation, not confined to India alone. Look at other parts of Great Britain, see what is going on in Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia. The days when one member of the Empire dominated over the whole are gone. The Sun of freedom and self-determination is bound to come not only on the horizon but on the meridian one day (Hear, hear). If you are advised in India not to carry on agitation for ten years more, I do not think it is a sound advice. Every one is trying to secure freedom, not in the sense of separation but in the sense of co-ordination. When every nation is agitating, why should India sit silent? Let us move on. I am quite confident that if we play our part in the struggle for freedom properly we are sure to succeed. In the United Kingdom they want one Imperial Parliament based on representation from different members of the Empire but with

regard to the national affairs they want that Ireland should look after Irish affairs and Scotland to Scottish affairs. We are not asking for separation. English people have rightly understood the character of our demands. They are prepared to help us. When a little approach has been made in the rampart of bureaucracy, our leaders cry halt. Would you accept this advice (Cries of No!) Do not listen to such an advice. This is exactly the time when we should continue our work. If we lose this opportunity, what will other nations think of us? They will think that India is satisfied. Do not lead other nations to believe that India is satisfied. (Hear, hear) Press your demands with greater strength force and persistence along with other nations then the Indian question will be solved in the spirit of democracy. You should find funds for the work. The Railway strike became successful when £250 000 were spent upon it. Find out the money, agitate and at the same time work up the Bill. However small it may be pocket it. (Hear, hear) Say we are fighting for the whole the part is there we will accept it and we will fight for the remaining parts which will make up the whole. The full amount will come in fifteen years as we originally proposed and it is bound to come but it depends upon your labour work enthusiasm and capacity to convince the other nations of the world as to the reasonableness of our demands.

The League of nations is a constitution. In order to convince it we must express our views to them. A perfectly legal and constitutional door has been opened (Hear, hear). Let us take full advantage of it. I want you to realise this position.

I never came here with the expectation of receiving an address from you but to consult a few friends as regards the attitude of the Nationalist party. But I am dogged by so many people. In earlier times the police used to dog me. Now the police has transferred its duty to the democracy (Laughter). So I had to undergo a very severe experience this morning. I have given you a synopsis of the work we have done in England. Consider over the matter and come to the right conclusion. I am sure persistent agitation will help you to attain Home Rule not in fifteen years, but possibly in five years.

EVIDENCE BY MR. B. G. TILAK, GIVEN
BEFORE THE JOINT SELECT
COMMITTEE, 1919.

Mr. Tilak stated that he appeared as representing the Indian Home Rule League, which was senior among all Home Rule Leagues in India. It was founded in April, 1916. It had its head office,

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at Poona with over 100 branches in the various Provinces in India, and about 50 000 members, distributed over all classes of people

The objects of the Indian Home Rule League are (1) to attain Home Rule or Self Government within the British Empire by all constitutional means (2) to educate and organise public opinion in India, the United Kingdom and also elsewhere towards the attainment of the same. It has a perfectly democratic constitution its membership being open to all men and women of over twenty-one years of age who sign a declaration accepting the objects and the constitution of the league. We may add that the word Home Rule is used and understood in a broad sense without any specific reference to the scheme or schemes of self government bearing that name in other countries.

After his answers to the nineteen questions put to each witness Mr Tilak made the following supplementary statement —

THE 1917 ANNOUNCEMENT

We accept the policy laid down in the announcement of 20th August, 1917. By that I do not mean the whole announcement but only the policy laid down in that announcement and as it is interpreted by the Congress in its resolutions. As I understand it the announcement is made up of three parts; first the policy of the Government;

secondly, what action the Cabinet took upon it; and, thirdly, the views of the Secretary of State and the Government of India in relation thereto. The first part is what is quoted in the Preamble to the Bill, the policy itself. So far as I can see from the report of the War Cabinet, when they refer to the policy, they only refer to the first part of it, and not to the other two parts. That policy we accept, and that is the gradual development of responsible government in India. As I stated in my answers, I accept that as a *via media* between the popular view on the one hand and the view of the authorities on the other.

INDIA'S FITNESS.

We hold that India is fit for responsible government—that is the second point—at present, immediately. Now, with regard to responsible government there is some difference of opinion which requires to be cleared up. When we say “responsible government” we sometimes lay stress on the word “responsible” and sometimes on the word “government,” but never on the two together. What I think is—or what my League thinks is—that responsible government involves two questions, firstly, capacity to govern, and secondly, the responsibility of the Ministers to either the people or their representatives in the Legislative Assembly. With regard to the first part of it, laying stress on the word “government,” we hold that India is

capable of governing itself. The only question with regard to responsible government in that sense is whether the Ministers or the Executive should hold office while they enjoy the confidence of the Legislative Assembly. Now, in that connection, it is true that the electorate is not now ready, but it cannot be ready until responsible government is decided upon. The two depend on each other, getting the electorate ready and responsible government for instance, when the scheme of local self government was introduced in 1884, an electorate was created and a kind of local self government was introduced at the same time. Our contention is that there are ample materials for the electorate in the country for instance the method by which the members of Provincial Legislative Councils are elected. It is not on as broad a Franchise as we wish, but there are materials in the country and they could be worked up and we could get a fairly good electorate to begin with to be expanded in course of time, and in that sense we hold that India is fit for responsible government immediately. But as a compromise we accept the position that this responsible government should be gradually introduced in India. There is a further difficulty, however namely, who is to interpret the word "gradually." The word "gradually" means in different stages and the stages may be few or many and the time distance between the two stages

may be much shorter than what some people think. There are those two questions as regards the stages—how many stages there should be, and what should be the time distance between those stages? Those are questions which I may say different people answer in different ways. The opinion of our League and of the Congress is that there should be as few stages as possible, and that there should be a certain time limit when the devolution should be completed. Without that time limit it is not possible to work out the scheme satisfactorily. It would not create that confidence, it would not attract that kind of co-operation which is essential for the success of the scheme.

THE TIME LIMIT.

That is why a time limit has been introduced. Of course, there is no charm in the figure 15, I admit; it is an illustrative figure, according to my contention, introduced into the Congress resolution. Five years more or less does not matter in a nation's life; it might be ten or twenty, but we have named a figure, and that figure has been stated to be fifteen years, which figure was accepted unanimously in the Congress at Bombay. The earlier wording was "as early as possible," but that wording was changed in Bombay to "fifteen years." Now that is what I have to say about the meaning of the words "responsible government," and also the two

different views which are taken in different spheres about it. As to the view of our League, which is an independent League, we have, as the basis of our work, adopted the Congress resolution and scheme to begin with as a first substantial step. To extend the scheme over one hundred years or a century or two means nothing. It cannot evoke any enthusiasm for the scheme and it cannot secure that co-operation of the people which is contemplated in the Joint Report.

DIARCHY

Then I have something to say about diarchy. Diarchy of course it is admitted is only a transitional system not a scientifically perfect system. It is adopted as a necessary evil when you have to divide functions and when you cannot grant responsible government as a whole at once. Some devolution of functions is quite necessary and then the only care which should be taken about it is to see that the system devised is not so complicated, is not so embarrassing as to mar or imperil the success of the scheme. We do not oppose diarchy altogether but we should like to have as little of diarchy as possible. On that basis the Congress League scheme provides that there shall be full Provincial autonomy. Provincial autonomy is again a phrase which is used with a double meaning. First Provincial autonomy as between the

Provincial Government and the Government of India. That is not the meaning attached to it in the Congress programme. Provincial autonomy means that there should be no reserved subjects in the Provinces, to speak in the language of the Bill. Now we say that the Provinces are fit to be entrusted with full responsible government, and ought to be entrusted with full responsible government, in the beginning, and as regards the Government of India the control should be secured to the popular elected Legislative Assembly, at least in those departments which are Provincial as opposed to Central. Then only you can have continuous popular control from the lowest grade up to the highest, so that those Departments which are transferred or which will be transferred in the Provinces—I mean the policy with regard to those Departments—would be laid down in the Imperial Legislative Assembly, and the Ministers selected by that Assembly. Otherwise it cannot work. Provincial autonomy—that is, full responsibility in the Provinces—cannot work unless the control at the centre is secured to the popular Legislative Assembly. So we propose full Provincial autonomy in the Provinces, and in the Central Government a kind of dualism, but not quite diarchy of the kind that is proposed in the Bill. I have stated that in my reply to question No. 15: “For the Central Government we might adopt the same method

which is now provided for in the Provinces, or we might adopt an alternative scheme of having half the Executive selected from amongst the elected members of the Legislative Assembly' That is the old Congress scheme. But when the Report was published that scheme was revised in the light of the Report, and the new Congress scheme is now before you

I wish to explain another point about this time limit. We think it essential because it will secure sympathy and confidence from the people, which is some protection. As we know from the history of the Administration the real reason for fixing that time limit is to create confidence that something will be done during a definite period of time and that people may be assured that if they successfully worked out the scheme they will get full responsible government during fifteen years. Without that time limit we know as a matter of fact that promises may be delayed much longer than what the people expect. There are certain promises for instance in the Royal Proclamation of 1858 which have not yet been fulfilled. That being the case, we want a scheme which will work automatically, and which will be completed in a definite period.

VIEWS ON SECOND CHAMBER

Another point to which I would refer is that we disapprove of the Council of State. A Second

Chamber in the Government of India. Supposing the Government of India is to remain as autocratic as before, I do not think a Second Chamber is a necessity ; but if certain subjects are to be transferred, and some are to be reserved, then there ought to be some machinery by which the necessary legislation on a reserved subject may be secured. That machinery we propose—the Congress resolution proposes it, and I believe it is supported by one of the Provincial Governments—would create an artificial majority for the case, say, 40 per cent. of the members voting. The Legislative Assembly will consist, according to our scheme, of 80 per cent elected members and 20 per cent nominated members, so that if 20 per cent out of the elected members vote for a particular measure, it means that it is passed in a Council equally divided between nominated and elected members, and in that case the Government should be authorised to consider that measure as passed, in spite of the fact that it is not approved by the whole Legislative Assembly or by the majority of the Legislative Assembly. This scheme also lends itself to gradual development. You can increase the 40 per cent (there is between 40 and 50 a margin of 10) by annual increments or increments which are definitely introduced after a certain period. This scheme equally lends itself to gradual development.

FISCAL AUTONOMY

Another important thing is fiscal autonomy. I do not think that any scheme of responsible government can work unless the Legislative Assembly has full control over the finances and control over the Executive. At present the position is this: that full financial control rests with the Secretary of State and his Council. The Government of India must obtain the previous sanction of the Secretary of State in order to introduce any financial measure in the Legislative Assembly; and then further, no elected member of the Legislative Assembly can introduce any financial measure in the Council without the previous sanction of the Government of India and that sanction cannot be given without consulting the Secretary of State. The present position is that no members of the Imperial Legislative Council can introduce any financial measure—any measure affecting revenues, taxes, Customs and so on—without the previous sanction of the Governor General. That being so, supposing more expenditure is required on a particular department and that that expenditure is made necessary, the whole machinery will have to be moved, sanction having to be obtained from the Government of India and the Government of India having to obtain the previous sanction of the Secretary of State. Herein—the Minister or the Councillor in charge of the Department will not find the requisite

funds for the purpose. That is what is meant by fiscal or financial autonomy.

FINANCIAL CONTROL.

The Legislative Council must have the power of introducing any financial measure in the country and having it passed there by a majority, and if that measure is found inconvenient or unnecessary by the Government the Governor will have his power of veto to exercise. The present proposals are such that in cases where the Government of India and the Legislative Council agree, then the Secretary of State could not veto the measure, but although the Government of India and the Legislative Council agree, it is quite necessary that the Legislative Council should have the power of independently introducing a financial measure in the Imperial Legislative Council, and to see that it passes there, and then the veto to be exercised may be with the consent of the Secretary of State.

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS

The next point on which I wish to say a few words of explanation is the necessity of including in the Bill the Declaration of Rights suggested by the Congress. I do not wish to go at length into the merits of the case, but I simply want to point out that without such a provision the growth of self-government cannot be in any way adequate to our expectations. Self-government cannot grow in a

soul like the present, and for that reason it is necessary to have the Declaration of Rights. They are the elementary rights of citizenship. We thought they were included in the older Statute but it should be made clear now. Without free discussion of these different subjects in the Press and on the platform it is impossible to effect any real progress.

THE FRANCHISE.

As regards the franchise and voting first we support the extension of the franchise to include women in the franchise furnishing the same qualifications secondly as stated in my answer to No. 19 'In our opinion women furnishing the necessary qualifications should not be excluded from the franchise, and the property qualification should be so low as to include the working classes in the electorate. Then another point which my League wishes to impress upon the Committee is, that the election to the Imperial Legislative Council should be direct. I do not think there is much difficulty about that. The electorate already exists in the Provinces, and the same electorate might be utilised for electing members of the Imperial Legislative Council. As regards provincial autonomy I have only one more observation to make, *viz.*, that we consider that full responsible government should be granted to the Provinces, not because the present scheme involves diarchy, but because the Provinces

are fit for it, and that it is a natural step. There are the three distinct parts, the Government of India, the Provincial Government, and the Local Self-Government. Now, first the Local Self-Government comes into the Provinces, and then the natural step always is to grant full responsible government to the Provinces, and then only we can get to know whether the experiment is a success or not. It would provide better data for judgment, both by the public and by the authorities, or by the Commission. It would give to the people something they can manage, in which nobody else will interfere, and then alone we can properly judge whether the people are capable or not capable, or whether they have the necessary capacity and experience to carry on this responsible government.

If any further explanation is necessary I shall be glad to give it. There is one request I have to make, however, my Lord, and that is that I am rather hard of hearing, and if I do not hear any of the questions they may be inadequately answered.

THE CONGRESS DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

A MANIFESTO.

[In accordance with the resolution passed at the Amritsar Congress that the Reform Act, though

inadequate unsatisfactory and disappointing should be worked for what it was worth, Mr Tilak carried on incessant propaganda in the Maharashtra and chalked out his course of action in the following manifesto]

The Congress Democratic Party as the name denotes, is a party animated by feelings of unswerving loyalty to the Congress and faith in Democracy. It believes in the potency of democratic doctrines for the solution of Indian problems and regards the extension of education and political franchise as two of its best weapons. It advocates the removal of all civic, secular or social disabilities based on caste or custom. It believes in religious toleration, the sacredness of one's religion to oneself and the right and duty of the State to protect it against aggression. This party supports the claim of the Mahomedans for the solution of the Khilafat question according to Mahomedan dogmas and beliefs and the tenets of the Koran.

This party believes in the integration or federation of India in the British Commonwealth for the advancement of the cause of humanity and the brotherhood of mankind but demands autonomy for India and equal status as a sister state with every other partner in the British Commonwealth including Great Britain. It insists upon equal citizenship for Indians throughout the Commonwealth and effective retaliation whenever it is denied. It

welcomes the League of Nations as an instrument for enforcing the peace of the world, integrity of states, freedom and honour of nations and nationalities and for ending the exploitation of one country by another.

This party emphatically asserts the fitness of India for Representative and Responsible Government and claims for the people of India on the principle of self-determination the exclusive right of fashioning the form of government and determining the most appropriate Constitution for India. It regards the Montagu Reform Act as "inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing" and will strive to remedy the defect by introducing with the aid of the members of the labour party and other sympathisers in the British Parliament, at the earliest opportunity a New Reform Bill for establishing full responsible government in India including full Military control and full fiscal freedom and an exhaustive declaration of rights with constitutional guarantees. To achieve this object, it contemplates and recommends a resolute and energetic campaign in India and in the countries represented on the League of Nations. In this matter the party's watchword will be "Educate, Agitate and Organise."

This party proposes to work the Montagu Reform Act for all it is worth and for accelerating

the grant of full responsible government, and for this purpose it will without hesitation offer co-operation or resort to constitutional opposition which ever may be expedient and best calculated to give effect to the popular will

Apart from the foregoing aims and principles, the party platform will contain the following planks but it does not profess to be exhaustive —

IMPERIAL

1 Repeal of all repressive legislation (e. g. Rowlatt Act, the Press Act the Arms Act etc) the introduction of trial by a jury of one's own country men especially in cases of offences against the State the abolition of rigorous imprisonment for such offences and jail reform with the view of placing offenders of all classes on a par with similar offenders in Great Britain

2 Securing for the labouring classes, agricultural and industrial a fair share of the fruits of labour a fair minimum wage, reasonable hours of work, decent house accommodation and adjustment of relationship between capital and labour on equitable basis, and promoting organisations suitable for the purpose.

3 Control of the export of foodstuffs and other necessities of life by tariff or by other methods with a view of reducing the prices thereof and conserving supplies.

4. Promotion of Swadeshism and development of Indian Industries by all recognised methods including State subsidies and protective tariff.

5. Nationalisation of railways and regulation of railway tariffs by legislation with a view to assist industrial development and to abolish privileges and favouritism in their working.

6. Retrenchment first and foremost in every department, especially in the Military. expenditure, and taxation when imperative or desirable but taxation graduated according to the capacity of various classes, corporations or individuals so that the burden may be proportionate to the means or wealth of the tax-payer.

7 Creation of a citizen army, officered by Indians; naval, aerial and military education; Commissions for Indians in all military services without racial discrimination.

8. Recruitment of all services by open competitive examinations in India.

9 Promotion of national unity by such means as the establishment of a *lingua franca* for all India; betterment of relations between followers of different religions, and especially the strengthening of the Hindu-Moslem Entente.

10. Readjustment of provinces on linguistic basis.

PROVINCIAL.

1 Immediately securing full popular autonomy for the provinces

2 Permanent Ryotwari settlement on the basis of an equitable assessment

3 Village control over reserved and protected forest in regard to pasturage fuel, dealwood and use of minor products

4 Absolute prohibition of Veth Begar and Sarbarai.

5 Education through the vernaculars as high as possible

6 Free and compulsory education without distinction of sex and special contributions and increased grants-in aid from state funds to Municipalities and Local Boards to carry out this object immediately

7 Restoration of Village Panchayats with administrative and judicial powers.

8 Abolition of drink.

9 Extension of the franchise without sex distinction

10 Sanitation upon a systematic basis under a minister of health

11 Carrying out of departmental reforms already enunciated and approved by popular opinion

e.g. Agricultural development, extension of irrigation, the co-operative movement, Industrial and Technical Education suitable to the needs of the country—organised medical relief and encouragement to indigenous systems of medicine.

Upon this programme the party appeals for votes and support for candidates pledged to these principles, with the fullest confidence of receiving an enthusiastic response so as to ensure victories in the coming election battles.

LOKAMANYA BAL GANGADHAR TILAK.

[The following is an appreciation of the Lokamanya's scholarship written by Professor Radhakrishnan formerly of the Presidency College, Madras, for Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co's. book, "Eminent Orientalists"]

Tilak is well known as a politician of great power and personality, who did his best to promote the political freedom of his country. Yet, the field of politics to which he devoted the best years of his life was not the one for which he was made. Mr. Tilak was by nature a scholar and only by necessity a politician. Not for nothing did he come from the Mahratta country. Latterly it has not been possible for the thinking minds of India to be indifferent to the political situation. The subjection of the

country 'worked persistently on the mind of Mr Tilak and triumphed over his natural bent. Politics in India, when taken 'up seriously is not only exacting but also exhausting. If one has to succeed in it, one must give up all other pursuits. The jealous mistress cannot brook the rivalry of other intellectual exercises involving 'patient labour and continued thought. Mr Tilak who fell a victim to the political struggle was unable for a long time to give his best to Oriental studies. The Government however came to his rescue and enabled him to practise a little more economy of interest, by forcibly retiring him from public life. The prison cell was the place where his brave soul could pursue its congenial vocation. In the ten years of enforced leisure spent in Mandalay and elsewhere Mr Tilak did his best literary work by which he will be remembered even after his fame, as a politician, grows dim.

Mr Tilak's literary work is not the traditional distraction of an unemployed statesman. As a rule, the transformation of a professional politician into a man of letters is not successful. But Mr Tilak's natural aptitude had been in the direction of Oriental studies and so we find in his work, instead of the discouragement of the amateur the solid learning and the keen insight of a trained scholar.

While his chief investigations in Oriental scholarship are in the domain of the Vedas and the

Bhagavad Gita, he also wrote several miscellaneous essays on kindred topics, the chief of them being an article on "A Missing Verse in the Sankhya-Karikas." His discussions, as we shall see, are marked by a very liberal spirit. He does not accept everything established ; nor does he slavishly adhere to authorities, Eastern or Western, in the interpretation of ancient texts.

The *Orion* is an essay on the antiquity of the Vedas. Pressing into service his great knowledge of astronomy, Mr. Tilak argues that the hymns of the Rigveda, those at any rate which have a reference to the word *Agrayana* or *Agrahayana*, must have been composed at a time when the year began with the Sun in the constellation of *Orion* or *Mrigasirsha* i.e., before 4000 B C. From the Greek tradition of *Orion*, he infers that it was also the period before the Greeks separated from the Hindus. Mr. Tilak's presentation of his case elicited warm praise from eminent scholars like Max Muller and Jacobi, Weber and Whitney. According to Bloomfield, "the book is unquestionably the literary sensation of the year—history, the chronic re-adjuster, shall have her hands uncommonly full to assimilate the results of Mr. Tilak's discovery and arrange her paraphernalia in the new perspective."

In his next work, *The Arctic Home of the Aryans*, Mr. Tilak makes out that the neighbourhood of the North Pole was the original home of

the Aryans. He bases his conclusions on the results of research in Geology and Archæology. The Arctic regions, though they are now desolate and unfit for human habitation, enjoyed before the glacial epoch, a mild and temperate climate fit for habitation. There are indirect references in the Vedas to some astronomical phenomena peculiar to the North Pole such as those of day for six months and night for six months. On the hypothesis of a long night of six months the rapturous utterances about the dawn and the anxiety relating to it are easily explained. Corroborative evidence from the *Zenda-vesta* is cited. Of course a theory so startling in its nature is not easily accepted. It is, however, acknowledged that Mr Tilak made out a good case for his position. According to Dr Warren the array of evidences set forth is far more conclusive than any ever attempted by an Indo-Iranian scholar in the interest of any earlier hypothesis. Absolute candour and respect for the strictest methods of historical and scientific investigation characterise the discussion throughout.

In the second number of *Sanskrit Research* (October 1915) is found the article on *A Missing Verse in the Sankhya Karikas*. Mr Tilak points out that there is a consensus of authority for the view that the *Sankhya Karikas* are seventy in number. If we exclude last three verses which do not belong to the doctrinal part of the text—they

give us only the Guruparampara or the line of succession of teacher and pupil—we have only 69 verses in the Indian (Gaudapada's) and the Chinese (Paramartha's) editions. One verse is missing. Mr. Tilak tries to trace the lost verse with his acute powers of deduction.

The commentaries in the two editions contain a passage developing a refutation of the four possible causes of the word : Iswara (God), Purusha (Soul), Kala (Time) and Swabhava (Nature). The commentator argues that the first two being Nirguna, cannot be the cause of the Saguna world and the last two being Vyakta cannot be subtler than the Avyakta, Prakriti. Obviously this discussion should be based on some text. The sixty-first Karika contends that Prakriti is the cause of the world and there is nothing more subtle than that (Sukumara-thara). The comparative degree suggests that the author of the Karikas had in view other alternative hypotheses. Besides, the commentator introduces the discussion of the four possible causes by the statement, "Tatra Sukumaratharam Varnayati" [He describes (the meaning of) subtler] From the contents of the commentary Mr. Tilak works up the verse which reads as follows :—

*Karanameeswarameke purusham kalam pare
 swabhavam va
 Prajah katham nirgunatho vyaktah kalah
 swabhavascha*

Mr Tilak, a horn fighter of evil and injustice did not feel inclined to support the quietistic interpretation of the teaching of the Bhagavad Gita. It is not right to think that one on whom the light of God's peace has settled need not worry about the work of the world. Wisdom or Jnana is not an end in itself. Moral heroism is the fruit of the heavenly vision. The scholastic commentators have used the Bhagavad Gita in the interests of their own metaphysical and religious views and twisted out of its shape the true message of the Gita. Mr Tilak attempts to restore the natural sense of the Bhagavad Gita by making Karma Yoga its central secret.

It is needless to say that it is Mr Tilak's robust patriotism that predisposed his mind to this activist view. It is often said not without justification that the spirit of contemplation and repose is responsible for the present state of the country. The Indian accepts the principle 'my mind to me a kingdom is' and bows to the inevitable in a spirit of resignation. Mr Tilak makes out that the Gita, which has a supreme place in Indian spiritual life, stands for the do-and-dare spirit. The whole setting of the Gita supports Mr Tilak's view. Arjuna comes to the battlefield to fight the enemy but at the psychological moment shrinks from his duty. Looking at friends and comrades arrayed on both sides, his heart is torn with anguish, his mind

is divided by doubt and he lays down his bow under the impression that it is not proper for him to trample on the ties of kindred and slay those who deserve worship. The message of the Gita enables him to take up his bow and fight. It is not action that is forbidden but interested action. So long as the heart of man vibrates in perfect harmony with the Supreme Self, action does not result in entangling him in the world of Samsara. It is silly to shrink from our appointed task, afraid of the consequences. The Gita asks us to work in imitation of the Lord, for the purpose of Lokasangraha or unification of the entire humanity in the bonds of a deep and common sympathy. The Bhagavad Gita is designed as a solution of the universal problem of life. It reconciles spiritual freedom with work in the world. Mere sense of repose or mere devouring energy are extremes to be avoided. Work wedded to wisdom, Arjuna the Archer guided by Krishna the Seer, or the Yogeswara, is the ideal.

There are however passages in the Gita which declare that the final end is the calm of an immutable self in whose equality and oneness, we cast off all desire and passion. If it be so, then no action is possible in the ultimate condition. Sankara takes his stand on these texts. The Gita gives us also the vision of a divine being from whom all, world and souls, proceed. Freedom is to become one with Him. 'We do not so much die in Him as

recover our lives in Him by an integral self finding
 On this view action is compatible with freedom
 Whether activism or quietism is the truth of the
 ultimate state is thus not a question of ethics, but
 one of metaphysics Mr Tilak seems to adopt
 Sankara's view in metaphysics though he fights shy
 of its logical implication of quietism If the in-
 active, impartial, immutable self is the reality then
 freedom means a passage from the world of action
 into one of inaction If on the other hand it is
 possible for us to be active in the freed state, then
 Sankara's reality is not the final expression of truth
 Perhaps Mr Tilak had to his own mind reconciled
 Sankara's metaphysics with ethical activism It is
 however not brought out in his writings

THE ORION

[The following is a brief summary of the
 Orion taken from Mr D V Athalya's admirable
 volume.]

Oriental scholars have advanced vague and
 uncertain conjectures about the age and character
 of the Vedas. Professor Max Muller has divided
 the Vedic literature into four arbitrary periods the
 'Chandas, Mantra, 'Brahmanas and 'Sutras and by
 assigning two hundred years for each period the
 arrives at about 1200 B C. as the latest date at

which the Vedic hymns were composed. As opposed to this linguistic method of ascertaining the age of the Vedas, there is the astronomical method which, though condemned by European scholars as inaccurate and conjectural, can, if properly applied, lead us to good results. The Vedas, the Brahmanas and the Sutrās contain numerous allusions and references to astronomical facts. There are several sacrificial hymns in the Rīg Veda. Now, no sacrificial system could be developed without the knowledge of months, seasons and the year. It appears that the Vedic Rishis kept up their calendar by performing the corresponding round of sacrifices on the sacred fire that constantly burnt in their houses; and as they were not only the sacrificers of the community but were also its time-keepers, these two functions appear to have blended into one by assigning the commencement of the several sacrifices to the leading days of the year on the natural ground that if the sacrifices were to be performed, they must be performed on the principal days of the year. *Samvatsara* and *Yajna* therefore came to be regarded as convertible terms.

Let us now examine the principal parts of the year *alias* the sacrifice. The *Savana* or the civil day, as its etymology shows, was selected as the natural unit of time. Thirty such days made a month and twelve such months or three hundred and sixty *Savana* days made a year. Now, a month

of thirty civil or *Savana* days cannot correspond with a lunar synodical month and so a day in some of the *Savana* months was required to be omitted to secure the concurrence of the civil and lunar months. The year of 360 *Savana* days was thus practically reduced to a lunar year of 354 civil days or 360 *tithis*. But a further correction was necessary to adjust the lunar with the solar reckoning of time. The commencement of the cycle of the seasons was, therefore the only means to correct the calendar and the ancient Aryans hit upon the device of the intercalary days or month for the purpose.

It appears that the early Vedic priests were ignorant of the motion of the equinoxes. The early Aryans must have determined the position of the sun in the ecliptic by observing every morning the fixed star nearest to it. Under such system the year would naturally be over when the sun returned to the same fixed star. The solar year therefore, mentioned in the Vedic works, must be considered as sidereal and not tropical. The difference between the sidereal and the tropical year is 20.4 minutes which causes the seasons to fall back nearly one lunar month in about every thousand years. When these changes came to be noticed for the first time they caused surprise and were regarded as foretelling some great calamity.

Another important point, relevant to our purpose is when the year commenced. The *Vedanga-Jyotish* makes the year (and *Uttarayana*) commence with the winter-solstice. But a closer examination shows that the winter-solstice could not have been the original beginning of the annual sacrifices (and therefore of the year). The middle day of the annual *Satra* is called the *Vishnuvan* day and as *Vishnuvan* literally means the time when day and night are of equal length, if we suppose the year to have commenced with the winter-solstice, the *Vishnuvan* or the equinoctial day could never have been its central day. If *Vishnuvan* was the central day of the year, the year must have once commenced with the equinoxes. We may, therefore, take *Uttarayana* to mean "the passage of the sun into the northern hemisphere, *i e*, to the north of the equator, and thus we can say that the *Uttarayana* and the year must have commenced with the Vernal equinox. While describing the *Devayana* and *Putriyana*, the Shatapatha Brahmana (11-1-3-3), lays it down in distinct terms that Vasanta, Grishma and Varsha were the seasons of the Devas. It is impossible therefore to maintain that the *Devayana* or the *Uttarayana* ever commenced with the winter-solstice, for in neither hemisphere the winter-solstice marks the beginning of the spring, the first of the Deva seasons. It is difficult to definitely ascertain the time when the commencement of the year

was changed from the vernal equinox to the winter solstice. When this change was made *Uttarayana* must have gradually come to denote the first half of the new year *i.e.*, the period from the winter to the summer solstice especially as the word was capable of being understood as 'turning towards the North from the Southern most point.'

All our present calendars are prepared on the supposition that the Vernal equinox still coincides with the end of Revatī and our enumeration of the Nakshatras begins with Ashvinī, though the equinox has now receded about 18° from Revatī. This position of the Vernal equinox was true at about 490 A.D. when probably the present system was introduced. Let us now see if we can track back the position of the Vernal equinox amongst the fixed circle of stars. From Varahamihira, we know that before the Hindus began to make their measurements from the Vernal equinox in Revatī there existed a system in which the year commenced with the winter solstice in the month of Magha and the Vernal equinox was in the last quarter of Bharanī or the beginning of the *Krittikas*. The *Vedanga Jyotish* the oldest astronomical work in Sanskrit, gives the following positions of the solstice and the equinoxes —

- (1) The winter solstice in the beginning of Shraṇishṭha (divisional)

- (2) The Vernal equinox in 10° of Bharani.
- (3) The summer-solstice in the middle of Ashlesha.
- (4) The autumnal equinox in $3^{\circ} 20'$ of Vishakha.

From these data, astronomers have calculated that the solstitial colour occupied the above position between 1269 B.C. to 1181 B.C. There are many passages in the Taittirīya Samhita and the Taittirīya Brahmana where the Kṛttikas occupy the first place in the list of the Nakshatras. We must, therefore, presume that the Vernal equinox coincided with the Kṛttikas when the Taittirīya Samhita was compiled. The Taittirīya Brahmana (1 5, 2, 7) says that the Nakshatras are the houses of Gods and that the Nakshatras of the Devas begin with the Kṛttikas. The Shatapatha Brahmana expressly states that the Sun was to be considered as moving amongst and protecting the Devas, when he turned to the North, in the three seasons, of spring, summer and rains. This, therefore, at once fixes the position of the Kṛttikas at the beginning of the Devayana or the Vernal equinox at the time when these works were compiled. The Taittirīya Samhita expressly states that the winter-solstice fell in Magha. From all these, we conclude that the Kṛttikas coincided with the Vernal equinox when the Taittirīya Samhita was compiled (2350 B.C.)

The passage in the Taittiriya Samhita which states that the winter solstice fell in Magha also refers to the Phalguni full moon and the Chitra full moon as the first days of the year. Now as evidently there cannot be real beginnings of the year at an interval of one month each the passage must be understood as recording a tradition about these two full moon days being once considered as the first days of the year. If the year commenced with winter solstice with the Phalguni full moon the Vernal equinox must have been in the *Mrigashiras* (Orion). The word *Agrhaayani* (Syn for *Mrigashiras*) suggests the same tale. With the Vernal equinox near the asterism of *Mrigashiras* the autumnal equinox would be in *Mula* which was so called because its acronycal rising marked the commencement of the year. Again with the winter solstice occurring on the Phalguni full moon day the summer solstice fell on the Bhadrapadi full moon so that the dark half of Bhadrapada was the first fortnight in the *Pitriyana* understood as commencing on the summer solstice. On no other hypothesis can the dedication of the dark half of Bhadrapada to the *Pitris* be satisfactorily explained.

When the Vernal equinox was in Orion it was the beginning of the *Devayana* and as the constellation is remarkable for its brilliancy and attractiveness the ancient Aryans may have been naturally influenced not merely to connect their old traditions

with it but also to develop them on the same lines. Thus the Devayana and the Pitriyana, as representing the two hemispheres must be joined and the Vernal and the autumnal equinoxes become the natural points of union between the regions of Gods and Yama. The equinoxes were in fact the gates, of heaven and as such it was natural to suppose that they were watched by dogs (Canis Major and Canis Minor). In the later Indian literature we are told that the souls of the deceased have to cross a stream before they reach the region of Yama which we can easily identify with the Milky Way which could then have been appropriately described as separating the regions of Gods and Yama, the Devayana and the Pitriyana or the Northern and the Southern hemisphere. Later, it is actually called the celestial river and we are further told that the land of the blessed is to be reached by "the celestial ship with a good rudder." We can satisfactorily account for these legends by supposing that the Vernal equinox was near the Dog-star in those days just near the Milky Way.

There is another set of traditions which can be similarly explained on the supposition with which we have started, *viz*, the Vernal equinox was then in Orion. The heliacal rising of the constellation at the beginning of the year marked the revival of nature at the commencement of spring and the asterism may thus be said to represent all these

milder influences which in later mythology were fully embodied in the conception of Vishnu. But the case was completely reversed if we take the acronycal rising of the same. It was at the autumnal equinox that the Dog star rose at the beginning of night and though strictly speaking it marked the end of Varsha, yet the portion of the heaven wherein the constellation is situated could have been easily regarded as the battle-ground of Indra and Vritrasura, who fought in those days and also as the stage on which the terrible Rudra made his appearance. On this same hypothesis we can explain how Vritrasura came to be stationed at the gates of hell. Indra cut off the head of Vritrasura or Namuchi in the form of a Mriga and this at once suggests whether that head is not the same as that of Prajapati cut off by Rudra (Ardra or Sirius). The foamy weapon with which Indra killed Namuchi is nothing but a reference to the Milky Way. The attributes of Rudra—chasing of the antelope, his bearing of the Ganges in his matted hair and fondness for the burning ground and appearance as a Kirata or hunter—all these can be accounted for by placing Rudra just below the Milky Way or the celestial Ganges at the gates of the Pitriyana and figured as a hunter. In Rig X 192 2 *Samvatsara* or the year is said to rise out of the ocean the place where Vritrasura was killed (Rig X 68 12). Prajapati as represented by Orion may also be

naturally supposed to commence the year when the Vernal equinox was in Orion. Rudra killed Prajapati (or Samavatsara or Yajna) at the beginning of the year and as Yajna also meant sacrifice, Rudra was later believed to have killed the sacrifice of Daksha. So then, Vishnu, representing the happy times of Vasanta, Rudra presiding over storms and Prajapati, the deity of sacrifices—these three principal deities of the Hindu Mythology can be traced to and located in the part of heaven occupied by Orion when the Vernal equinox was there. Later writers have described this Trinity as represented by the three-headed Dattatraya, followed by the Vedas in the forms of dogs, and from what has been written above, there can be no difficulty in identifying this personified Trinity with Orion having three stars in the head and closely followed by the dog (Canis) at its foot.

These and other traditions especially those of Ribhus and Vrishakapi strengthen the hypothesis of the traditional year beginning on the Phalguni full-moon. With the Phalguni full-moon at the winter-solstice, the Vernal equinox was in Mrigashiras; so with the Chitra full-moon at the solstice, the Vernal equinox would be in Punarvasu. The presiding deity of Punarvasu is Aditi and we are told that Aditi had been blessed with a boon that all sacrifices must commence and end with her (Aitareya 'Brahmana 1-7 and the Taittiriya Samhita vi 1-5-1.).

The story begins with the statement that the Sacrifice (the mysterious Sacrificial personage) went away from the Gods. The Gods were then unable to perform any further ceremonies and did not know where it (the sacrifice) had gone to and it was Aditi that helped them in this state to find out the proper commencement of the sacrifice. This clearly means that before this time sacrifices were performed at random but it was at this time resolved and fixed to commence them from Aditi. Aditi was thus the oldest and first commencement of the sacrifice or the year. In the *Vajasaaneyi Samhita* 4.19 Aditi is said to be *Ubhayaatah Shirshini* double headed and the commentators interpret it to mean that the two termini of the sacrifice which began and ended with Aditi are the two heads here alluded to. These traditions are further corroborated by the sacrificial ceremonies. According to the sacrificial terminology the 4th day before Vishnuvan or the central day of the yearly Satra is called the Abhijit day. Now if Abhijit day be supposed to be named after the Nakshatra of that name (i.e. when the Sun is in Abhijit) then the Vishnuvan or the autumnal equinox must fall four days after the asterism of Abhijit and it can be shown by astronomical calculation that with Aditi or Punarvasu at the Vernal equinox to commence the sacrifice we nearly get at the same result.

Therefore, the oldest period in the Aryan civilisation may be called the Aditi or the pre-Orion period and we may roughly assign 6000—4000 B.C. as its limits. Then there was the Orion period roughly extending from 4000 B. C. to 2500 B.C. from the time when the Vernal equinox was in the asterism of Ardra to the time when it receded to the asterism of the Krittikas. The third or the Krittika period commences with the Vernal equinox in the asterism of the Krittikas and extends up to the period recorded in the Vedanga-Jyotisha, *i e*, 2500 B. C. to 1400 B. C. and the fourth and last period of the old Sanskrit literature extends from 1400 B. C. to 500 B. C. or to the birth and rise of Buddhism which may be called the real pre-Buddhistic period. It will thus be found that the antiquities of the Vedas can be traced up to a far remoter time than what Max Muller and other European scholars were willing to assign.

ARCTIC HOME IN THE VEDAS.

Up to the middle of the 19th century, myths and traditions were the only materials available for the study of pre-historic man. So various attempts were made to systematise these myths and explain them rationally. But the mythologists carried on their researches at a time when man was believed to be post-glacial and when the physical and geographical surroundings of the ancient man were assumed not to have been materially different from those of the present day. But about the middle of

the 19th century from hundreds of stone and bronze implements found buried in various places in Europe the archaeologists established the chronological sequence of the Iron, the Bronze and the Stone age in times preceding the historic period and discovered evidence to prove the existence of the Glacial period at the close of the Quarternary era and the high antiquity of man who was shown to have lived not only throughout the Quarternary but also in the Tertiary era when the climatic conditions of the globe were quite different from those in the present or Post Glacial period. It therefore became evident that the results previously arrived at by philologists and mythologists must be revised in the light of new scientific discoveries. It also became necessary to study the ancient sacred books of the Aryans in the light of modern archaeological and geological discoveries for if man existed before the last Glacial period and witnessed the gigantic change which brought on the Ice age, it is not unnatural to expect that a reference, howsoever concealed and distant to these events would be found in the oldest traditional beliefs and memories of mankind. If we read some of the passages in the Vedas, which have hitherto been considered incomprehensible in the light of the new scientific discoveries, we are forced to the conclusion that the home of the ancestors of the Vedic people was somewhere near the North Pole before the last Glacial epoch.

Before proceeding to discuss the Vedic texts which point to a Polar Home, it is necessary to briefly state the results of recent discoveries in archaeology, geology and palaeontology. Human races of earlier times have left ample evidence of their existence on the surface of this globe. It consists of hundreds and thousands of rude or polished instruments of stone and metal, recently dug out from old camps, fortifications, burial-grounds, temples, etc. Archaeologists have come to the conclusion that these implements can be classified into those of stone, those of bronze and those of iron, representing three different stages of civilisation in the progress of man in pre-historic times. Of these three different ages, the oldest, the Stone age, is further divided into the Palaeolithic and the Neolithic period or the old and the new Stone ages.

The Geologist takes up the history of the earth at the point where the archaeologist leaves it and carries it further back into antiquity. From an examination of the stratified rocks, according to the character of the fossils found in them, the geologist has divided the history of our planet into five different periods.

The Iron age, the Bronze age and the Neolithic age come under the recent or the Post-Glacial period while the Palaeolithic age is supposed to fall

in the Pleistocene period. Various estimates have been made regarding the time of the commencement of the Neolithic age but the oldest date assigned does not exceed 5000 B C. Regarding the commencement of the Palaeolithic period, there are two different views entertained by the geologists, Prof. Geikie putting it between 50 to 60 thousand years ago and the American geologists at about 8000 years only.

As regards the races which inhabited Europe in these early ages the evidence furnished by human remains or skulls shows that they were the direct ancestors of the races now living in the different parts of Europe. The question whether the Aryans were autochthonous or went to Europe from some other place cannot be settled by these discoveries. But the Vedic and Avestic evidence proves that the Aryans were autochthonous neither in Europe nor in Central Asia but had their original home somewhere near the North Pole in the Palaeolithic times and that they migrated from this place southwards in Asia and Europe, not by any irresistible impulse but by unwelcome changes in the climatic conditions of their original home. From the geological evidence of fossil fauna and flora we find that in the early geological ages when the Alps were low and the Himalayas not yet upheaved and when Asia and Africa were represented by only a group of islands an equable and uniform climate

prevailed over the whole surface of the globe. A luxuriant forest vegetation, which can only grow and exist at present in the tropical or temperate climate, flourished in the high altitude of Spitzbergen, where the sun goes below the horizon from November till March, thus showing that a warm climate prevailed in the Arctic regions in those days. If, therefore, the Vedic evidence points to an Arctic Home where the ancestors of the Vedic Rishis lived in ancient times, there is nothing in the latest scientific discoveries which would warrant us in considering this result as *a priori* improbable.

It has been a fashion to speak of the Polar regions as characterised by light and darkness of six months each, but this statement is only roughly true. The Pole is merely a point and all the inhabitants of the original ancient Home, if there was one near the North Pole, could not have lived precisely at this single point. We must, therefore, distinguish between the characteristics of the Polar region and those of the circum-polar region.

THE POLAR CHARACTERISTICS

- (1) The Sun rises in the South
- (2) The stars do not rise and set; but revolve or spin round and round, in horizontal planes, completing one round in 24 hours.
- (3) The year consists only of one long day and one long night of six months each.

(4) There is only one morning and one evening. But the twilight whether of the morning or of the evening lasts continuously for about two months. The ruddy light of the morning or the evening twilight moves round and round along the horizon like a potter's wheel.

THE CIRCUM POLAR CHARACTERISTICS.

(1) The Sun will always be to the South of the Zenith of the observer.

(2) A large number of stars are circum polar; the rest rise and set, but revolve in more oblique circles.

(3) The year is made up of three parts — (a) one long continuous night lasting for a period of greater than twenty four hours and less than six months according to the latitude of the place (b) one long continuous day to match (c) a succession of ordinary days and nights during the rest of the year never exceeding a period of twenty four hours.

(4) The dawn at the close of the long continuous night lasts for several days but its duration and magnificence is proportionally less than at the North Pole. The other dawns will only last for a few hours.

We can take these differentiae as our guiding guides in the examination of the Vedic evidence.

bearing on the point at issue. If a Vedic description or tradition discloses any of the characteristics mentioned above, we may safely infer that the tradition is Polar or circum-Polar in origin, and the phenomenon, if not actually witnessed by the poet, was at least known to him by tradition, faithfully handed down from generation to generation. Such references in the Vedic literature may be divided into two parts: the first comprising those passages which directly refer to the long night or the long dawn and the second consisting of myths or legends which corroborate and indirectly support the first.

We find passages in the Rîg-veda (X, 89, 4. II, 15' 2. IV, 56, 3 X, 89, 2) which compare the motion of the heavens to that of a wheel and state that the celestial Vault is supported as if on an axis. Combining these two statements, we may safely infer that the motion referred to is such a motion of the celestial hemisphere as can be witnessed only by an observer at the North Pole.

Let us now turn to another characteristic of the Polar regions viz., a day or a night of six months each and examine references to this characteristic, reference to which is found not only in the Puranas but also in astronomical works. Surya-Siddhanta (XII, 67) says "At Meru, Gods behold the sun after but a single rising during the half of his revolution beginning with Aries" Manu describing the divisions of time says (I, 67), "A year (human) is a day

and a night of the gods. In Chapters 163 and 164 of the Aranyaparvam (Mahabharat) Arjuna's visit to mount Meru is described in detail and we are therein told 'At Meru the sun and moon go round from left to right every day and so do all the stars. Later on the writer says. The mountain by its lustre so overcomes the darkness of night that the night can hardly be distinguished from the day. A few verses further and we find. The day and the night are together equal to a year to the residents of the place. Evidently the writer had a tolerably correct idea of the meteorological and astronomical characteristics of the North Pole. The lustre of the mountain is the splendour of the Aurora Borealis visible at the North Pole. Passing from the Post Vedic literature to the Vedic we find in the Taittiriya Brahmana (III 9 22 1) That which is a year is but a single day of the Gods. It is true that the statement or anything similar to it, is not found in the Samhita portion of the Rig Veda. But there are many other passages which go to corroborate this statement in a remarkable way.

The long continuous dawn with its revolving splendours is another characteristic of the North Pole. The Vedic poets could not have gone into raptures over the short lived dawn of the tropical or temperate zone. In the Aitareya Brahmana IV 7 a long recitation of not less than a thousand

verses is to be recited by the Hotri priest "when the darkness of the night is about to be relieved by the light of the dawn." So there must have been in those days, sufficient time between the first appearance of light and the rise of the sun, to recite the long song. Sometimes the recitation ended long before sunrise and in that case other hymns are required to be continued, and Apa Stamb requires all the ten mandalas of the Rig-Vedas to be recited if necessary. In Rig-Veda VII. 76 the poet expressly tells us that a period of several days elapsed between the first appearance of the dawn and the actual rising of the sun, and the commentator, Sâyana, not understanding how the word "day" can be applied to a period of time anterior to sunrise, twists the meaning of the "Ahan" and translates it by "splendour." Similarly in Rig. II. 28.9 the words "bhuyasih ushâsah avyushtah" which literally mean "many dawns, have not dawned or fully flashed forth" have been a riddle to the commentators. These dawns were thirty in number (Taittiriya Samhita IV. 3 II) Sâyana, unable to account for so many dawns explains that though the dawn was one yet by its Yogic powers, it assumed these various shapes !

When the long duration of the Vedic dawn is once demonstrated, it astronomically follows that

long days and long nights existed in those times. Let us however try to find independent evidence of their existence. There are many passages in the Rig Veda that speak of long and ghastly darkness in one form or other. Thus in I 32 10 Vritra, the traditional enemy of Indra, is said to be engulfed in long darkness. In V 32 5, Indra is described as having placed Shushna, who was anxious to fight in the darkness of the pit. The next verse speaks of Sunless (ghastly) darkness. These expressions lose all their propriety if the darkness in which the enemies of Indra are said to have flourished, be taken to be ordinary darkness of twelve or at best, of twenty four hours duration. It was in reality a long one.

In the 10th Mandala of the Rig Veda we have a hymn (127) in which Night is invoked to become easily fordable. In the Parishishta, which follows this hymn the worshipper addresses the Night. May we reach the other side in safety. In the Atharva Veda XIX, 47, the second verse runs thus. Each moving thing finds rest in her (Night) whose yonder boundary is not seen nor that which keeps her separate. In the Taittiriya Samhita 1 5 5 4 we have a similar prayer addressed to the Night and a little later 1 5 7 5 the Samhita itself explains the prayer thus. In old times the Brahmins were afraid that it (night) would not dawn.

What does this signify? If the night was not unusually long, where was the necessity for entertaining any misgivings about the coming dawn?"

III, 55. II, literally translated, means:—"The twin pair (females) make many forms; of the two one shines and the other is dark. Two sisters are they, the dark and the bright." We have here a two-fold description of the couple (Day and Night). It is called the shining and the dark and also is described as possessed of many forms. Sayana interprets these forms as different colours like black, white, etc. This is evidently wrong. Are we to suppose that we may have sometimes green, violet, yellow or blue days and nights? Again though *rupa* may lend itself to this interpretation, the word used in the above verse, *Vapumshu* cannot be so understood. It can only denote the extent, duration and length of days and nights, in addition to their colour, which can be only twofold, dark or bright. The first half of the verse, therefore, means, "The twin pair assume various (náná) lengths (Vapumshu), of the two, one shines and the other is dark. The third quarter of the verse, "Two sisters are they, the dark (Shyavi) and the bright (Arushi)" has puzzled the commentators, but they have solved the riddle by regarding the twins (Yamya) and the sisters (Svasaran) as identical. But this is wrong.

The only possible explanation is that the year spoken of in the passage is a circumpolar year made up of one long day and one long night, forming one pair and a number of ordinary days and nights of various lengths which can be described as 'bright, dark and of varying lengths.

In X 138 3 the third verse begins with 'The Sun nuyoked his car in the midst of heaven not at sunset or on the horizon but in the midst of heaven. The words are quite clear. Mr Griffith tries to explain this difficulty by thinking that the poet here refers to an eclipse. But during an eclipse the sun is covered with the dark shadow of the earth and is not besides stationary. Sayana twists the meaning. But we need not be impatient to escape from the natural meaning of the verse. A long halt of the sun in the midst of the heaven is clearly described here and it refers to the long day of the Arctic region.

In the Samhita and the Brahmanas the annual Sattras or yearly sacrificial sessions are said to extend over twelve months. But this was impossible within the Arctic region where the sun goes below the horizon for a number of months during the year thereby producing the long night. The oldest duration of the annual Sattras if such were ever performed within the Polar regions would

therefore be shorter than twelve months. In other words, an annual Sattra of less than twelve months would be the chief distinguishing mark of the older sacrificial system. As all the people cannot be expected to be stationed at the Pole, the months of sunshine will vary from seven to eleven for the inhabitants of the Arctic region; and the Arctic sacrificial year, would be made up of these months of sunshine. Let us now interpret the legend of Aditi or the seven Adityas (Suns). This legend expressly tells us that the oldest number of Adityas is seven. The sun is called seven-horsed and in V, 45, 9 and his seven-wheeled chariot is said to be drawn by seven bay steeds (I, 50, 8). The Atharva Veda speaks of the "seven bright rays of the Sun" (VII, 107, 1). Sayana is unable to account for the number seven as applied to the rays. The cue to understand the legend can be had from Shatapatha Brahmana which says, "There are twelve months of the year; these are the Adityas." If therefore the twelve Adityas represent the twelve months of the year, the seven Adityas must have once (*purvyam yugam*) represented the seven months of the year. The legend of the Dashagvas or Dirghatamas points to the existence of an year of ten months; and as these cannot be accounted for except on the Arctic theory, the chain of evidence is strengthened by these legends

The sacrificial literature also helps us in arriving at the same hypothesis. Once in the Aitaraya Brahmana and twice in the Taittiriya Samhita, we meet with descriptions regarding the *Gavam Ayanam* or the cows walk wherein cows are represented as holding a sacrificial session. This session could be completed in ten or twelve months. Why the session could be completed in ten months seems to have puzzled Sayana and others who merely content themselves with remarking that it is an 'immemorial custom'. The Arctic theory throws quite a new light on this tradition. The *Gavam Ayanam* of ten months and the old Roman year of ten months are relics of the period when the Aryans lived within the circum-Polar regions. The cows were not really cows but the Adityas (month gods).

If we turn to Vedic mythology we find several stories which cannot be properly explained either on the Dawn or Storm theory. The description of Indra's fight with Vritra records four simultaneous effects (1) the release of the cows (2) the release of the waters (3) the production of the dawn and (4) the production of the Sun. Advocates of the storm theory describe Vritra as a storm cloud and by smiting it with his thunder bolt, Indra may be described as releasing the waters imprisoned therein. But where are the cows which

are said to be released along with the waters. The Niruktas interpret "cows" to mean waters; but in that case the release of the waters and the release of the "cows" are not two distinct effects

The struggle between the Indra and Vritrasura is really a struggle between the powers of light and darkness. The passages where waters are said to be released by Indra after killing Vritrasura do not refer expressly to the rain-cloud Vedic scholars have wrongly supposed that when the Rîg-Veda speaks of the celestial waters (*divyāḥ apāḥ*) only the rain-waters are intended. But this is a mistake; for in passages which speak of the creation of the world (X, 82, 6; 129, 3) the world is said to have once consisted of nothing but undifferentiated waters,—or in the language of modern scientists of 'ether' or 'nebulous mass of matter.' The ancient Aryans like the old Hebrews believed that the subtle matter which filled the whole space in the universe was nothing but watery vapours, and secondly that the movements of the Sun, the Moon and other heavenly bodies were caused by these vapours which kept on constantly circulating from the nether to the upper and from the upper to the lower celestial hemisphere. The mischief wrought by Vritrasura was that he stopped the flow of these waters; consequently the Sun, the Moon and the

stars all ceased to rise. Indra by killing Vritrasura released the waters and brought with them the dawn the Sun and the 'cows' (i.e., days or the rays of the morning). The victory is thus naturally described as four fold. Objectors to this theory might say that the struggle between Indra and Vritrasura is a daily fight between light and darkness. But X. 62. 2 shows that the struggle was annual. This proves the Arctic Home hypothesis.

The Avesta contains two passages (first two Fargards) which also point to this victory. The first Fargard (chapter) of the Vendidad enumerates sixteen lands created by Ahura Mazda. As soon as each land was created Angra Mainyu the evil spirit created different evils and plagues to invade the land and make it unfit for human habitation. Out of these sixteen lands ten can be still identified with certainty. This proves that the account is real and not mythological. The Airyana Vaejo is described as the first good and happy creation of Ahura Mazda but Angra Mainyu converted it into a land of ten months winter and two months summer. This sudden change in the climate of the Airyana Vaejo converting ten months summer and two months winter into ten months severe winter and two months cold summer was clearly due to the advent of the Glacial period as

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established by modern geologists. The second Fargard of the Vendidad gives us a graphic description of the actual advent of ice and snow. It also informs us that a Vara or enclosure was made to provide against the calamity and that in this Vara, the Sun, the Moon and the stars rose but once a year.

The cumulative weight of these and other researches incontrovertibly establishes Lokamanya Tilak's theory

GITA RAHASYA

The following is the summary of the speech of Mr Tilak on *Gita Rahasya* delivered at in 1917 —

Let me begin by telling you what induced me to take up the study of Bhagavad Gita. When I was quite a boy I was often told by my elders that strictly religious and really philosophic life was incompatible with the hum drum life of every day. If one was ambitious enough to try to attain Moksha, the highest goal a person could attain then he must divest himself of all earthly desires and renounce this world. One could not serve two masters the world and God. I understood this to mean that if one would lead a life which was the life worth living according to the religion in which I was born then the sooner the world was given up the better. This set me thinking. The question that I formulated for myself to be solved was Does my religion want me to give up this world and renounce it before I attempt to or in order to be able to attain the perfection of manhood? In my boy hood I was also told that Bhagavad Gita was universally acknowledged to be a book containing all the principles and philosophy of the Hindu religion and I thought that if this be so I should find an answer in this book to my query and thus began my study of the Bhagavad Gita. I approached

the book with a mind prepossessed by no previous ideas about any philosophy, and had no theory of my own for which I sought any support in the Gita. A person, whose mind is prepossessed by certain ideas, reads the book with a prejudiced mind, for instance, when a Christian reads it, he does not want to know what the Gita says, but wants to find out if there are any principles in the Gita which he has already met with in Bible, and if so, the conclusion he rushes to is that the Gita was copied from the Bible. I have dealt with this topic in my book, "Gita Rahasya," and I need hardly say much about it here, but what I want to emphasise is this, that when you want to read and understand a book, especially a great work like the Gita—you must approach it with an unprejudiced and unprepossessed mind. To do this, I know is one of the most difficult things. Those who profess to do it may have a lurking thought or prejudice in their minds which vitiates the reading of the book to some extent. However, I am describing to you the frame of mind one must get into if one wants to get at the truth and, however difficult it be, it has to be done. The next thing one has to do is to take into consideration the time and the circumstances in which the book was written and the purpose for which the book was written. In short the book must not be read devoid of its context. This is especially true about a book like Bhagavad

Gita. Various commentators have put as many interpretations on the book and surely the writer or composer could not have written or composed the book for so many interpretations being put on it. He must have but one meaning and one purpose running through the book, and that I have tried to find out. I believe I have succeeded in it because having no theory of mine for which I sought any support from the book so universally respected I had no reason to twist the text to suit my theory. There has not been a commentator of the Gita who did not advocate a pet theory of his own and has not tried to support the same by showing that the Bhagavad Gita lent him support. The conclusion I have come to is that the Gita advocates the performance of action in this world even after the actor has achieved the highest union with the supreme Deity by Gnana (Knowledge) or Bhakti (Devotion). This action must be done to keep the world going by the right path of evolution which the Creator has destined the world to follow. In order that the action may not bind the actor it must be done with the aim of helping his purpose and without any attachment to the coming result. This I hold is the lesson of the Gita. Gnana Yoga there is —yes. Bhakti Yoga there is —yes. Who says not? But they are both subservient to the Karma Yoga preached in the Gita. If the Gita was preached to desponding Arjuna to make him ready for the fight

—for the action—how can it be said that the ultimate lesson of the great book is Bhakti or Gnana alone? In fact, there is blending of all these Yogas in the Gita and as the air is not Oxygen or Hydrogen or any other gas alone but a composition of all these in a certain proportion, so is the Gita all these Yogas blended into one

I differ from almost all commentators when I say that the Gita enjoins action even after the perfection in Gnana and Bhakti is attained and the Deity is reached through these mediums. Now, there is a fundamental unity underlying the Logos (Ishvara), man, and world. The world is in existence because the Logos has willed it so. It is His Will that holds it together. Man strives to gain union with God, and when this union is achieved the individual Will merges in the Mighty Universal Will. When this is achieved will the individual say, "I shall do no action, and I shall not help the world"—the world which is because the Will with which he has sought union has willed it to be so? It does not stand to reason. It is not I who say so, the Gita says so. Shri Krishna himself says that there is nothing in all the three worlds that He need acquire, and still he acts. He acts because if He did not, the world will be ruined. If man seeks unity with the Deity, he must necessarily seek unity with the interests of the world.

also and work for it. If he does not, then the unity is not perfect because there is union⁴ between two elements out of the three (man and Deity) and the third (the world) is left out. I have thus solved the question for myself and I hold that serving the world and thus serving His Will is the surest way of Salvation and this way can be followed by remaining in the world and not going away from it.

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